BISHOP OF COLUMBIA.

Sir W. S. to C. P. 125. "You have doubtless heard of the travels of Mr. Bruce a Native of Scotland, into Syria, Arabia, Abyssinia, Nubia, and Egypt — He is so well acquainted with the Coast of the Red Sea and the sources of the Nile, as with his own House, he has brought with him some Ethiopic Manuscripts, and amongst them the Prophecies of Enoch, an ancient Book, but to be ranked only with the Sybilline Oracles"

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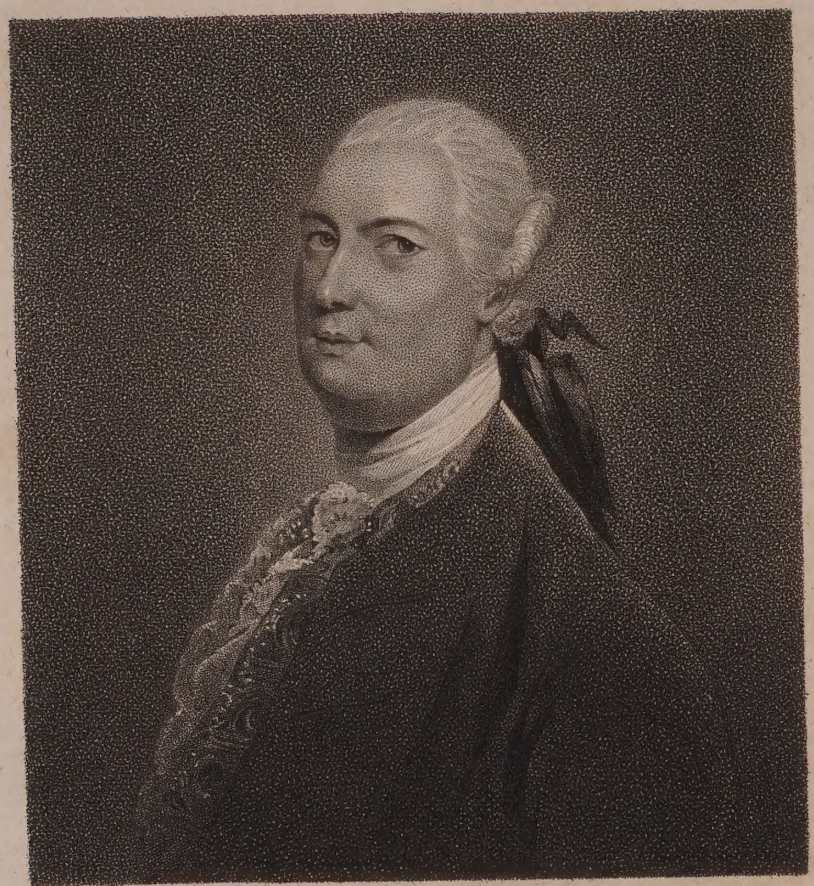

D. Martin pinxt. Heath sculp.

James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq.r

From an original Picture by Martin in the possession of Sir John Henderson, of Fordel, Bart.

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ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JAMES BRUCE, OF KINNAIRD, ESQ. F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF

TRAVELS TO DISCOVER

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE,

IN THE YEARS

1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, & 1773.

BY ALEXANDER MURRAY, F.A.S.E.
AND SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

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*** *The Plates mentioned above will be found numbered as they were placed in the Edition of Mr* BRUCE'S TRAVELS, *published in Seven Volumes Octavo; but as each Plate is properly titled, and as they follow one another regularly, there can be no difficulty in finding any one to which a reference is made.*

PREFACE.

The following Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Bruce was prefixed to the second edition of his Travels, published in 1805. It is now reprinted in the quarto form, with considerable additions and emendations, for the use of those who possess only the first edition of his work, or may desire to know something of the personal history of a man, who obtained celebrity by exposing his life for the particular advancement of useful knowledge. As no European, however adventurous, has, hitherto, during a period of thirty years, traced his steps, or penetrated into Abyssinia, the value of the information contained in his work must remain undiminished, until some fortunate accident open that country to

the rest of the world, and the public owe to circumstances not to be foreseen, what has been denied to scientific curiosity.

The merits of Mr Bruce's work may now be considered as sufficiently well known, but they can be estimated in detail only by the light of future discovery. Its imperfections must be finally ascertained from the same source; but when criticism and envy have both exhausted their severity, the Author will occupy a place far above the ordinary description of travellers.

The Appendix to this Volume consists partly of a selection from Mr Bruce's correspondence with a variety of persons, eminent in literature, and in public life. Some letters have been admitted, not on account of their intrinsic value, but because they contain additional notices and illustrations; others have been inserted, as characteristic of their authors. Those written from Algiers, particularly, display the indignant spirit with which Mr Bruce was accustomed to resent every attack on the honour, the privileges, and welfare, of his country.

The notices of the Ethiopic MSS. will, it is hoped, be acceptable to such as intend to examine Abyssi-

nian history, or the sources from which Mr Bruce extracted his account of it. The description of the Abyssinian customs and provinces, however imperfect, has not been compiled without more labour than it may be altogether prudent to confess. An ordinary acquaintance with Oriental literature is, in this country, seldom reckoned either useful or profitable. The study of the Ethiopic and Amharic may therefore possibly be judged such a misapplication of time, as ought to be corrected by more than negative discouragement.

In No. XLVI. Part I. the reader will find an abstract of the transactions in Abyssinia immediately preceding Mr Bruce's entry; of the history of Ras Michael, a leading character in the Travels, compiled from Ethiopic MSS.; and likewise an extract from Mr Bruce's Journal, writen at Gondar, in March 1770, containing an account of his own reception and first occupation at court. These are followed by the most important parts of his Journals, in Italian and English, relating to his journey into Agow-midre to visit the sources of the river.

In the same Number, Parts II. and III. is arranged all the miscellaneous information concerning

Habbesh, Atbara, and Sennaar, which could be found amongst Mr Bruce's papers. It is hoped that this will supply the want of minute explanatory notices in some parts of his work; in many instances confirm the reports of other travellers; and shew, that his inquiries respecting the interior of Africa were extensive and indefatigable.

The additions made to the Articles of Natural History, in the Edition of 1805, are reprinted here in No. XLVIII. The observations of longitudes and latitudes are likewise inserted in the number succeeding.

The specimens of the Abyssinian languages contained in Volume I. of Mr Bruce's own edition, and engraved in a more correct state for that of 1805, are annexed to this Account of his Life, along with Vocabularies extracted from a MS. compiled for him at Gondar. These may probably be of considerable use to future travellers: and it is evident, that, if a distinct classification of the African tribes be ever attempted, it must be formed chiefly from their languages, the only permanent monument of nations that have no written records. But until the civilized part of the world make a better use of its science

than to employ it in abetting private vices, and in defending public crimes, it will not benefit the cause of humanity to reveal to the unprincipled factions of the north, inveterate evils, which they are more willing to know than to remove.

In the course of the subsequent narrative, it has not been mentioned, that Mr Bruce was a member of various literary academies, both in France and Italy, particularly of Bologna and Marseilles. He was elected a member of the Royal Society soon after his arrival from Abyssinia, and contributed some Memoirs, which were first inserted in its Transactions, but afterwards printed in his own Work.

April 2. 1808.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

JAMES BRUCE, ESQ.

SECT. I.

THE benefits arising to society from a knowledge of the various nations which inhabit the globe, are so numerous and important, that they who have explored remote and interesting countries, have always been entitled to the thanks of mankind. Navigation and travelling, the principal methods by which that knowledge is obtained, are different in their nature, and their progress has not hitherto been equal. The modern improvements in navigation have rendered the one easy and expeditious, while the other continues to be attended with many of its original difficulties.

By the advancement of maritime discovery, information has been procured concerning most of the different tribes which people the shores of the earth. But the difficulty of completing a survey of the globe is much increased, when the element is changed

on which that survey is attempted. The discoverer of inland countries must often encounter perils greater than those of the seas, in the malice, ignorance, and ferocity of barbarians. All those passions, which are restrained with difficulty, by regular government, from violating the rights of the helpless and unprotected, may be indulged, without controul, on the friendless stranger, in countries where laws are disregarded or unknown. Difference in religion or manners, in the colour of his skin, or in the features of his face, may excite the contempt of the great, or the prejudices of the vulgar. Exposed by his wealth to rapine; or by his poverty, to famine; cut off from all intercourse with those who have an interest in his welfare, the traveller is frequently reduced to undergo the hardships, and submit to the necessities, of savage life.

Such are some of the principal causes which have retarded the progress of geographical discovery. Many of the finest countries in the world, formerly renowned for wisdom and power, are still but imperfectly known, on account of the barbarous character of their present inhabitants; and several extensive regions, whence hordes of savages have issued to change both the form and constitution of civilized society, have never been viewed by an intelligent observer. The interior parts of all large continents, excepting Europe, have as yet been explored in a superficial, defective, and unsatisfactory manner.

Amongst those which are least accessible to discovery, the continent of Africa deserves to be particularly mentioned. And whether we regard the variety displayed by nature in its soil and inhabitants, the number of its commercial productions, or the many inducements of a different description, by which it attracts the attention of benevolent and inquisitive minds; in all these respects, it is exceedingly curious and interesting. Most of the polished nations of ancient and modern Europe have eagerly attempted the

discovery of its central regions; but we need scarcely remark, that their endeavours have, for the most part, been unsuccessful. They have only ascertained the resistance which remains to be conquered by future exertion; and the progress made by each adventurer in accomplishing his design, has been generally overlooked in the narrative of his personal dangers.

Such being the difficulties which obstruct the progress of our knowledge respecting this extensive continent, the value of that information which we possess is proportionally enhanced. The perils through which it is collected, lead our attention to the character and accomplishments of those who have procured it. While we peruse the affecting narrative of the man who wandered among the barbarous tribes of Nubia, at the hazard of his life, to observe their ways and manners, for the instruction of civilized society, he naturally comes himself to occupy a conspicuous place in the group which is presented to the imagination. In proportion as his danger has been great, his activity remarkable, his routes novel, and his courage enterprising, we feel an increasing interest in his fate. Books of travels are therefore read with a pleasure, which history is seldom able to excite. While they enrich the mind with interesting truths, they amuse it with the charm of novelty, and the attraction of personal adventure. In Africa, so long acknowledged to be an unfailing source of discovery*, any traveller must be deficient in feeling and observation, who finds not enough to interest the curiosity of his readers, and to transmit his name to future ages.

Among those who have hitherto laboured in exploring Africa, the author of Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, will readily be admitted to hold a distinguished place. Few have un-

* Ἀεὶ φέρει Λιβύη τι καινον.

dertaken the task of discovery with endowments of body and mind superior to his; and none have excelled him in the courage and perseverance with which he performed it. The principal country which he visited is interesting on account of its geography, the rank which it has long held amongst the African states, and the singular manners of the tribes which inhabit its different provinces. His exertions were also extended to Barbary, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and part of his route lay through the desert between Nubia and Egypt, through which no other European traveller has ever penetrated. The remainder of his days, excepting the time which was necessarily spent in discharging the duties of society, was devoted to literature, particularly to the arrangement of those valuable observations which his travels had enabled him to present to the public. These, along with other inducements, to be mentioned in their proper places, will perhaps apologize for this attempt to illustrate the principal actions of his life; an attempt which, however defective in other respects, is free from the influence of detraction and flattery, at the same time that it is supported by documents of unquestionable authority.

James Bruce was born at the family residence of Kinnaird, in the county of Stirling in Scotland, on the fourteenth day of December 1730. His father, David Bruce *, was the eldest son of David Hay of Woodcockdale, in the shire of Linlithgow, by Helen, daughter of Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird; who, dying without male issue, transmitted to her, and her descendants, his name and estate. The family of Woodcockdale was sprung from the Hays of Park, in the province of Moray; an old and respectable branch of the Hays of Errol, whose bravery distinguished them at a remote period in our national history, and after-

* Appendix, Note A.

wards procured to them, from Robert I., the hereditary office of High Constable of Scotland *.

The immediate founder of the Kinnaird family was Robert, second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, by Janet, daughter of Charles, the fifth Lord Livingston. Contrary to the will of his parents, Mr Bruce quitted the profession of the law, for which he had been educated, and became a minister of the reformed church of Scotland, in the year 1587. He lived in a turbulent age, in which he was qualified to make a conspicuous figure; and his birth, abilities, and character, soon raised him to an eminent place in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. He had the honour to enjoy, for a considerable time, the confidence of James VI. to be employed by him in the government of the kingdom, during his expedition to Denmark, and to place the crown on the head of his queen, on her arrival in Scotland. The conclusive act, by which presbytery was established as the national religion, was obtained chiefly by the address and policy of Mr Bruce †. When the king afterwards proceeded to limit the power, and to change the form of the church, he was the only minister who could neither be persuaded nor forced to accede to his views. The king, disappointed at his firmness, first imprisoned and then banished him from the kingdom. Though he was permitted to return to Scotland, a short time after his banishment, he was obliged, by the Privy Council, to spend the rest of his days at a distance from the capital. He died in August 1631 ‡.

The severity with which the crown had persecuted this firm and able opponent of its prerogative, did not diminish the loyalty

* Papers belonging to the Kinnaird family. Marriage contract between D. Hay and H. Bruce, February 5. 1687. Crawford, Nisbet, &c. (names Bruce and Hay); and the histories of the province of Moray.

† A. D. 1592.

‡ Papers at Kinnaird. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, *passim*.

of his descendants. When the nation, after the death of Charles I., recalled his son to the throne, Robert and Alexander Bruce, grandchildren of the clergyman, voluntarily entered into the king's service, and, along with the rest of the royal party, were involved in his defeat and misfortunes. Robert, the elder of the brothers, was promoted to the rank of colonel in the guards; in which he continued till the battle of Worcester. He distinguished himself in that memorable engagement, and died soon after of the wounds which he had received in the action. His younger brother exerted himself with equal bravery in the royal cause; in consequence of his attachment to which, his estate was sequestrated by Cromwell, his personal safety endangered, and the remainder of his life subjected to embarassments from debts contracted during the usurpation. After the king was restored, he shared the general neglect of the crown in rewarding its defenders. He died at an advanced age, in the year 1711, leaving two daughters, the elder of whom had been married to David Hay of Woodcockdale. She succeeded to the estate of Kinnaird, which she left, together with the family name, to her eldest son David, in the year 1728*.

In February 1729, David Bruce married Marion Graham, daughter of James Graham, Esq. of Airth, dean of the faculty of advocates, and judge of the high court of admiralty in Scotland†. This connection was both honourable and useful. Her father was distinguished for his abilities and professional knowledge, universally esteemed for his public and private virtues, and allied to the first families in the kingdom. After this lady had born two children, of whom the younger is the subject of this memoir, she was

* Appendix, Note B.

† Papers relating to the Kinnaird family from 1728 to 1733. Marriage-contract between D. Bruce and M. Graham, Feb. 1729.

seized with a lingering disease, which gradually undermined a constitution naturally delicate, and laid her prematurely in the grave. Her death happened on the 23d of November 1733, while her son was an infant. It never was his fortune to know the tenderness of a mother.

His father married, a few years after, Miss Glen, daughter of James Glen of Longcroft, in the shire of Linlithgow, and sister of James Glen, Esq. who was long governor of South Carolina. Six sons and two daughters by this marriage survived their father, all of whom supported the character of the family from which they were descended*. The eldest brother was bred to the profession of an advocate at the Scottish bar. The second, an officer in the Duke of Richmond's regiment, was mortally wounded in the breach of the fortress called the Moro, at the Havannah, while fighting as a volunteer, in the forlorn hope†. The third, Captain William Bruce, in the service of the East India Company, proposed the attack, and led on the party, which, on the 3d of August 1780, took from the Mahrattas the fortress of Gualior, which had till then been accounted impregnable‡. These gallant actions, so worthy of the name of Bruce, were frequently mentioned with pride and exultation by that brother, whose fortune conducted him to fame by a different path of adventure.

Of the first years of Mr Bruce's life, few particulars are remembered which affected either his future health or character. Though strongly formed, he did not promise, while a child, that athletic constitution and stature which he attained in manhood. He was subject to frequent pains in the breast, resembling the disease

* Papers at Kinnaird, from 1735 to 1760.

† Letter to Mr Bruce from Mr Wood, under-secretary of state, dated February 8. 1763.

‡ Account of the taking of Gualior, in the publications on the history of India for 1780. Another son of the family, Robert, distinguished himself by many ingenious researches into the natural history of India, to which he, in a great measure, devoted the whole of his life.

which had occasioned the death of his mother and sister. His temper, contrary to the character which it afterwards assumed, was gentle and quiet: as he advanced in life, it became bold, hasty, and impetuous, accompanied, however, with a manly openness, that shewed the usual concomitant, a warm and generous heart.

When James had arrived at the eighth year of his age, his father resolved to bestow on the apparent heir to his estate, all the advantages of a liberal education. As his family was numerous, he did not consider his fortune as adequate to support the respectability of his eldest son, without the assistance of some profession. On this subject he consulted his brother-in-law, William Hamilton, a younger son of the family of Wishaw, a counsellor at the English bar, who resided in London *. The result of their opinion was in favour of a classical education in England. Towards the end of the year 1738, Mr Bruce sent his son to London, committing him to the care of his brother-in-law, Counsellor Hamilton, to whose friendly charge he entrusted the superintendance of his conduct and education. He resided, during the first year, in his uncle's house, and was afterwards removed, in 1742, to the school of Harrow on the Hill, in the vicinity of London †.

This seminary was then conducted by the abilities of Dr Cox, under whom Mr Bruce appears to have made a rapid proficiency.

* Baronage of Scotland, p. 479. Mr Hamilton had married Helen Hay, David Bruce's youngest sister. Mr Alexander Hamilton, his brother, a solicitor at law, took great interest in Mr Bruce's education, and often corresponded with his father on that subject. The facts respecting Mr Bruce, during the period of his education, are derived from an extensive correspondence carried on by his father with Counsellor Hamilton, Governor Glen, and several other friends, which is still preserved at Kinnaird. It extends from the year 1738, to the year 1754. Vide Appendix, Note C.

† Mr Bruce was entered at Harrow, January 21. 1742, and left it May 8. 1746. Before he was removed to Harrow, he was instructed in reading, writing, and the elements of Latin, by a Mr Graham.

His knowledge of the Latin and Greek classics, taught in the school, met with great approbation; and the care and accuracy with which he is said to have performed the exercises occasionally prescribed, were no less remarkable. Unfortunately none of these are preserved, but several of his school-fellows, at the distance of many years, used frequently to mention the facility with which he assisted his friends in the accomplishment of their tasks. A copy of Latin verses, written for a companion and near relation, then at the same school, and who, without performing that task, could not have joined in a party of pleasure in which he was engaged, is reported to have drawn from Dr Cox a high encomium on the unknown author.

Mr Bruce remained at Harrow till the 8th of May 1746. In the four years which he spent there, he acquired a competent share of classical knowledge, and the acquaintance of several persons of abilities and distinction, whose friendship he retained through life. Among these may be mentioned the Honourable Daines Barrington, well known for his many ingenious writings. Two sons of Solicitor Hamilton, the Counsellor's brother, and William Graham of Airth, Esq. Mr Bruce's maternal uncle, were also his school-fellows. With the last of these gentlemen, his intercourse, while in Scotland, may be said to have been perpetual. They were companions in early life, and their friendship was dissolved only by death.

He was now fifteen years of age, but his health, which had always been precarious, was by no means confirmed. He was tall beyond the measure of his years: His breast was weak, and his general appearance indicated an overgrowth, which his relations were apprehensive might terminate in a consumption. After leaving Harrow, he lived in the academy of a Mr Gordon till April 1747, where he prosecuted his classical education, and studied French, arithmetic, and geometry. Other accomplishments,

the value of which are generally known in fashionable life, he acquired at the same period—accomplishments calculated to recommend their possessor in the brilliant circles of civilized society, but which were destined, far from the world of taste and elegance, to contribute to his safety, by exciting the admiration of rude barbarians.

During Mr Bruce's residence at Harrow, he seems to have had considerable doubt with regard to the choice of his profession *. At first he fixed on the study of theology, and thought of becoming a clergyman of the English Church; but he afterwards changed his mind, or rather yielded his choice to the wishes of his father. At last he declared himself inclined to the profession of an advocate at the Scottish bar, which decided the bent of his studies, and hastened his departure from town.

He arrived in Scotland in May 1747, in better health than his father had been led to expect. He spent the autumn among his relations, much employed in sports of the field, for which he acquired a predilection, retained by him to the latest period of his life. In these amusements he attained uncommon dexterity. Fowling and the chace were diversions which he seldom omitted any opportunity of pursuing. He had hounds sent from England while Consul at Algiers, some of which he carried along with him into Asia. In these countries the game was changed indeed from the hare and stag, to the elephant, rhinoceros, and lion. But the sport was equally alluring on the mountains of his native country, and in the woods of Abyssinia †.

* Letters. Counsellor Hamilton to Mr David Bruce, November 15th 1746; February 26th 1747, and April 28th, same year.

† Dr Pitcairn of Warwick court, London, Mr Bruce's relation, writes to him at Algiers; "I have sent off two fox hounds, the flower of a pack lately dissolved, and Procopius de Bello Gothico." One celebrated hound called *Juba*, an excellent hunter of the boar, was left at Latakia, on the coast of Syria, with consul Vernon. The reader will find an account of the difficulty with which he preserved at Gondar the means of an innocent amusement, in vol. vi. p. 26. of the Travels, Second Edit.

In the month of November, he commenced his studies at the university of Edinburgh. The gentlemen whose lectures he attended, were Mr Mackenzie, Professor of Civil law, Mr Erskine of Cardross, Professor of Scotch law, and Mr Macky, Professor of Universal History *.

It does not appear that he made much proficiency in the study of the law. There existed no treatise at that time, which could rouse a spirit of reflection and philosophy in a youthful mind, condemned to linger over the dry details of the Roman and Scottish codes. It is believed, that he felt the task which he had undertaken neither agreeable nor instructive. The delicate state of his health was unfavourable to a laborious study, which required a maturity of mind and habits of a different nature from those that prevail at the age of nineteen. But, however unprofitably he spent the time as a student of law, he was not forgetful of other more attractive branches of education. From sentences of the Italian poets, written on the blank leaves of his copy of Heineccius's Institutes †, it appears that he was more intent on acquiring a knowledge of the language of modern Rome, than of the works of her imperial legislators. At that time, Italian was very little read in Scotland: Few persons had any acquaintance with the writings of Petrarch and Ariosto, or the other productions of Tuscan genius which served as models to the earlier British poets.

In spring 1748, his former indisposition returned with such violence, as to excite the most serious apprehensions. He removed

* Letter. Mr D. Bruce to Gov. Glen, November 14, 1747.

† This book, "Elementa Juris Civilis, Heineccii," has the name "James Bruce, 1749," along with several Italian words and verses, evidently written at that time. Two of the verses are "Bella ingrata io moriró," and "Non vi lasciate uccidere, Dal dolo melanchonico." The study of statutory details, &c. has since been greatly facilitated by the late improvements in the philosophy of the human mind, particularly in the theory of jurisprudence.

to the country for the benefit of exercise and air. Attention to regimen, with the amusements of the country, contributed to restore his health; but his return to college in the following winter was not judged expedient. His own expectations of success in the profession of the law, were much abated, and various other circumstances determined him to relinquish it for ever.

In this uncertainty of mind, India offered to his ardent imagination a prospect of a more flattering nature. As he was considerably above the age at which persons are enrolled as writers in the service of the East India Company, his friends advised him to petition the Court of Directors, for the liberty of settling as a free trader under its patronage *. But even that preliminary step was taken more slowly than might have been expected from his temper and activity.

He left Scotland in July 1753, the 22d year of his age, with a view to prosecute this design. On arriving in London, his former acquaintances received him with joy, and, during the time spent in soliciting permission from the Directors, he lived among his friends in the gay manner of a stranger who was soon to leave them, and probably to be long absent. They, accordingly, strove to enlarge the circle of his amusement, by introducing him to their private acquaintance. By this means, they impeded his solicitation, and endeavoured to delay, if not altogether to prevent, the departure of a young man whose character they admired, and from whom they were unwilling to separate.

Among those friends which their kindness procured him, was the family of Mrs Allan, the widow of an eminent wine-merchant, residing in London. Mr Allan was of Scottish extraction, had been bred to business in France, and, by attention and perseverance, had raised himself in London to respectability and opulence.

* Counsellor Hamilton, letter to Mr James Bruce, June 1st 1753.

After his death, his widow continued in trade with her family, consisting of a daughter, and a son who pursued his father's business. Mr Bruce first saw the young lady on a visit to one of her friends, and soon after resolved, for her sake, to abandon his prospects of Asiatic wealth. The mind of Adriana Allan accorded with the beauty of her person. She was elegant both in her manners and her appearance, and remarkable for a gentle unassuming temper, united with a kind and warm heart. Mrs Allan listened with approbation to the proposal of marriage, which he made to her daughter. Among other arrangements, it was agreed that Mr Bruce should receive a share of the business. The marriage took place on the 3d of February, 1754; but was not productive of long and permanent happiness. Though the year did not end with the prosperity with which it began, this accidental settlement in London, changed his destination in life. It retained him in Europe till his mind was formed, his knowledge matured, and an opportunity presented itself of visiting the east with honour and advantage. In his own opinion, it prevented him from suffering the cruel imprisonment at Calcutta, in 1756, which proved fatal to many of the Company's servants *.

Soon after this connection with the family of Allan, Mr Bruce took an active part in the management of the business. The dealings of the company were extensive, and many persons of distinction honoured him with their friendship, from a regard for his personal character. By their attention he secured the favour of the public, and would have soon acquired a fortune suitable to his wishes and merit. His father, on receiving an account of his marriage and settlement in London, approved of his

* The account of this period of Mr Bruce's life (from 1753 to 1757) is derived from a correspondence carried on with his father from the time of his marriage till his voyage to the continent, and from the numerous letters of his friends. Some of the facts also are taken from the MS. Memoir of his own life already mentioned.

conduct, with the greater pleasure, that the hopes of his success in India were by no means certain.

But this flattering establishment in the world suddenly changed its appearance. Mrs Bruce inherited from her family a delicate constitution, predisposed to a mortal disease, which deprives society of many of its brightest ornaments. In a few months after her marriage, evident symptoms of a consumption made it necessary for her to leave the unhealthy air of London. She resided at Bristol during part of the summer for the benefit of the waters, with little advantage. Her complaints were alleviated, but not removed *. The last resource was a trial of the mild climate of the south of France, her native country; for which, accompanied by her mother, she sailed in the beginning of September †. Mr Bruce joined them at Boulogne, and they proceeded on their way to Provence, where they intended to pass the winter. They reached Paris on the 2d of October, where their journey was destined to terminate; for Mrs Bruce, exhausted with travelling, and the secret attacks of a disease, which indulges hopes of life at the moment when it destroys it, expired in a week after their arrival.

The bigotry of the Popish religion contributed to embitter the close of this melancholy scene. From an excess of zeal, the clergy in the enlightened metropolis of France delighted, as late as 1754, to persecute the last moments of a dying heretic. With similar illiberality they were accustomed to prevent the interment of his remains in consecrated ground. Mr Bruce would have suffered from the violence of both these prejudices, if the English ambassador had not extended his protection to the family, and claimed for it the privileges due to himself and his retinue.

* Letter from Mr Bruce to his father, August 27, 1754.

† Letter to his father, dated Mark-Lane, September 3, 1754.

Under this protection, Mrs Bruce died undisturbed by the clamours of fanatics; but her funeral could not be conducted in a public manner. At midnight, between the 11th and 12th of October, Mr Bruce stole a grave for his wife in the burying-ground assigned to the English embassy, and there saw all his happiness laid in the earth *.

He left Paris immediately after the ceremony, frantic with grief, and travelled, during the remainder of that night, one of the most tempestuous that had ever been known, towards Boulogne, which he reached on the following day. Fatigue, abstinence, and sorrow, threw him into a fever, which detained him at that place nearly a week. As soon as he was able, he embarked for England; to which he returned solitary, in ill-health, and in deep melancholy, from the most unhappy journey which it was ever his lot to perform.

After this event, Mr Bruce lost that eager attachment to business, which had been encouraged by causes that now existed no longer, and which could not be cheered with any immediate prospect of happiness. Though he did not consider it prudent to drop his connection with a flourishing trade without some preferable pursuit, he gave up a considerable share of the management to his partner, and applied himself to studies calculated to withdraw his mind from painful recollections. He was already a considerable proficient in the ancient languages. To his knowledge of them, he successively added an acquaintance with the Spanish and Portuguese. He applied to these studies with such assiduity, as gave him a habit of acquiring the most difficult idioms and dialects. Of this habit he afterwards availed himself in studying the languages of the East. A good ear, a tenacious memory, and an excellent judgment, laid the foundation of these attain-

* Appendix, Note D.

ments, so necessary both to a traveller and a scholar. He improved his skill in drawing, under a master of the name of Bonneau, recommended to him by Mr, afterwards Sir Robert, Strange, then rising into eminence in London *. Before this time he had chiefly cultivated that part of drawing which relates to the science of fortification, in hopes that he might, on some emergency, find it of use in military service. But views of a more extensive kind now induced him to study drawing in general, and to obtain a correct taste in painting, so as to be able to visit with advantage those countries which possess the finest specimens of skill and genius in that department of the arts.

They, who are conversant with the business in which Mr Bruce was engaged, know, that it requires a regular and frequent intercourse with the continent. The vintages of France, Portugal, and Spain, supply the stores of the wine merchant, which cannot be formed without attention to many circumstances of annual occurrence. The plan which he had secretly concerted, of visiting the continent with other intentions, happily coincided with the purposes of trade; and he looked forward, therefore, to the time when he could travel over the south of Europe in the character of a merchant, with the taste and science of a scholar. As this opportunity was delayed by various accidents, he continued two years longer in business; during which his health was confirmed very slowly, partly on account of the application which he was obliged to give to a multiplicity of affairs †. A severe cough and spitting of blood, with which he was at times affected till the age of thirty, yielded at length to proper treatment, exercise, and the vigour of that period of life to which he was now approaching.

In the month of July 1757, he sailed from Falmouth, on a voyage to the continent, and spent the remainder of that year

* MS. Memoir.

† Letters to his father, *passim*.

in Portugal and Spain. His ostensible object was to be present at the vintage of that season; but his real intention was to view the state of society, art, and science, in those kingdoms. He landed at La Corunna, in Galicia, on the 5th of July; whence he proceeded to Ferrol, where he remained a few days. From Ferrol he travelled to Oporto, and thence to Lisbon *. The metropolis of Portugal was then lying in ruins; its trade languished, and the nation was utterly dejected. The court was assembled at Belem, in a kind of temporary residence, to which it had fled from the dangers of the earthquake. In this distressed situation, Portugal could not appear to much advantage to a traveller; and Mr Bruce seems to have been nowise partial to the national character. His journals are filled with satirical remarks on the stiffness and pride of the nobility, the gross ignorance of the clergy, and the unrelenting spirit of revenge which disgraced all ranks of people †. Few of those generous qualities of mind can be recognised in the

* These particulars of the journey through Portugal and Spain are selected from his journal, a small quarto MS., and from the pocket-books in which he entered the different stages, rates of travelling, &c. A general account of it is given by himself in the MS. memoir, 1788.

† The following passage may afford a specimen of these remarks:

"There are many particular customs in Portugal, all of which may be known by this rule, that whatever is done in the rest of the world in one way, is in Portugal done by the contrary, even to the rocking of the cradle, which I believe, in all the rest of the world, is from side to side, but, in Portugal, is from head to foot. I fancy it is owing to this early contrariety that their brains work in so different a manner all their lives after. A Portuguese boat-man always rows standing, not with his face, but his back to the stern of the boat, and pushes his oar from him. When he lands you, he turns the stern of the boat to the shore, and not the head. If a man and woman ride on the same mule, the woman sits before the man, with her face the contrary way to what they do in England. When you take leave of any person to whom you have been paying a visit, the master of the house always goes out of the room, down stairs, and out of the house, before you, to leave you, as he says, in possession of his house, and to shew you how much he, and all that are in it, are devoted to you. They are, indeed, very attentive to the smallest punctilio, knowing well one another's temper. The smallest affront is never forgiven. This is

modern Portuguese, which inspired the naval discoveries of Vasco de Gama, relieved Abyssinia from the yoke of the Mahometans, and extended the influence of their small, but enterprising country, over the greater part of the world.

As Mr Bruce's business connected him with the English merchants at Oporto and Lisbon, he was received into their society with particular kindness and attention. In their families he found a relaxation from care, which, for a long time, he had not known. The civility, friendship, and elegant manners of his countrymen, heightened the pleasure communicated by a constant succession of new objects, and compensated for the cold reserve and indifference of the natives. To the happiness arising from English society, he had the good fortune to add the company of an accomplished fellow-traveller, Matthew Stephenson, Esq. of Walworth, in the county of Westmoreland, with whom he visited the greatest part of the kingdom, and enjoyed his favourite diversion on the banks of the Douro *.

the occasion of the many murders which are continually committed here. It is, indeed, the only country where it can be said that murder is tolerated. Every family has a son, a brother, or a nephew, who is a priest or friar. These are the instruments. As soon as the friar has committed the crime, he flies to his convent; and in six months the thing is no more talked of."

* On the 12th of August, 1757, Mr Bruce and his friend visited Braga, the metropolitan church of Portugal. At Braga they went to see a noted chapel, Nuestra Senhora da Monte, situated on a hill not far distant. Having ascended, with some difficulty, they learned, to their great disappointment, that they could not be admitted to see the chapel, as the image of our Saviour had been taken down from the cross, and placed in a neighbouring church, for the purpose of procuring rain, which the country then needed. The monks told them, "El Senhor huì fora," The Lord is not at home to day. From Braga they proceeded to the falls of the Douro, and thence to Cantinheda. They enjoyed some excellent sport, during a residence of a few days, at the seat of the Marquis of Marialvas. The son of the French consul furnished them with dogs, the game was plentiful, and their fare was improved by the hospitality of the good monks of the convent of Saint Mark. On arriving at Coimbra, a Portuguese university, they visited the principal library, but none of the friars could tell where the Greek books were kept. Mr Bruce's friend having been there on a former oc-

After having seen every thing remarkable in Portugal, Mr Bruce left Lisbon on the 15th of November, and proceeded towards Spain. He crossed the Tajo at Almaraz, on the road to the capital; but, instead of entering Madrid, he turned to the right, passed through Toledo, and made an excursion over the mountains into the province of new Castile. Having advanced beyond the Sierra Morena, he traversed the districts of Cordova and Seville on the river Guadalquivir; whence he regained the road from Lisbon, and about the middle of November arrived at Madrid *.

In this rapid, but attentive journey, he seems to have gained a considerable knowledge of the southern provinces of Spain. In particular, he remarked the languor of commerce, the thinness of population, and the religious slavery, to which later travellers have commonly ascribed the decline of the Spanish monarchy. From viewing these effects of injudicious policy and government, it occurred to him that an enquiry into the history of Spain, during the eight centuries in which it was possessed by the Arabs, would elucidate many of the obscure causes, from which the prosperity of that country has not advanced, in proportion as the sources of its wealth have increased. The traces of oriental manners visible in the south of Spain, the ruinous palaces of the caliphs, and the tales of chivalry ascribed to the Moorish wars, suggested extensive matter for philosophical reflection. A desire of examining the treasures of Arabic literature buried in the Escurial library naturally followed the survey of these interesting remains. A large and unexplored collection of Arabic manuscripts, belonging to the Spanish crown, then kept in the monastery of St Laurence, had long excited the cu-

casion, accidentally found one; and on asking the friars in what language it was written, they answered, "E alguna das lenguas muertas," some of the *dead* languages.

* MS. Memoir.

riosity of foreignerss, partly on account of the information which they were supposed to contain, and partly from a fear that they might perish by some accident, as many of the collection had already done. Though yet little acquainted with the Arabic language, Mr Bruce hoped to accelerate an examination of these writings, which attested the genius, and recorded the history, of the conquerors of Spain. From materials unknown to former inquirers, he wished to investigate the means by which the Mahometan states in that country are supposed to have acquired power, wealth, and science, while its Christian government in happier ages, with the vast accession of a new continent, and a perpetual influx of treasure, has been productive only of ignorance and poverty. To accomplish this design, it seemed necessary to enter into a minute detail of the various parts of the Saracen policy, and to contrast it with those memorable effects of Catholic bigotry, the expulsion of the Moors, the establishment of the Inquisition, and other institutions, which have confirmed the decay of industry and public spirit *.

On arriving at Madrid, he procured an introduction to Don Ricardo Wall, then minister to his Catholic Majesty, a gentleman of British extraction, and superior abilities, and who was sincerely inclined to promote the interests of Spain, if the nation had been in a state to assist him in his endeavours. This statesman, who well knew the value of so accomplished an adventurer, used every art to persuade him to enter into his master's service; but, besides his engagements at home, Mr Bruce had contracted an aversion to the military system of Spain in his southern journey. He therefore declined the offers of Mr Wall, though exceedingly flattering, and only requested his assistance in the researches which he intended to make in Arabic literature. He

* MS. Memoir, and Introduction to the Travels.

soon understood from him, that difficulties, which even his influence could not remove, obstructed all access to the library in the Escurial. The Spaniards, with a jealousy peculiar to themselves, conceal their records and history from every intelligent foreigner.

The British nation had at that time no ambassador at the Spanish court. Mr Bruce, having received letters of protection from Mr Wall, left Madrid in the end of December. Though the observations which he had made in the course of his journey through Spain seem to have been of very considerable importance, he never intended to lay them before the world. In consequence of an early resolution, which he never thought it proper to violate, he had determined to publish nothing on any subject which others had exhausted, or might easily illustrate. Being disappointed in his views of elucidating the Moorish history, an undertaking to which his learning at that time was perhaps inadequate, he considered his journies through Spain, France, and the Netherlands, merely as the rudiments of travelling, conducive, indeed, to his own improvement and information, but entirely unworthy of the attention of others. In a similar point of view he regarded the catalogue which he afterwards made of the paintings and antiquities preserved in Rome, and other cities of Italy. He relinquished Egypt to the care of those who should make it the principal field for their inquiries; and, from principles of honour and gratitude *, he abstained from describing Palmyra and Balbec, of the ruins of which he took magnificent drawings, sufficient to have established the reputation of any traveller.

On Christmas day 1757, he arrived, on his way to France, at Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. The season of the year was

* Before leaving England, he had promised to his friend Mr Wood, whose work on Palmyra was then but lately published, to write nothing on the ruins of that city.

very unfavourable for crossing the Pyrenean mountains, and he was exposed to considerable danger from the excessive cold of those elevated regions. On reaching Bayonne, he learned that his French passport had not been forwarded to that place, which obliged him to turn aside to St Sebastian, and wait for its arrival. Notwithstanding the letters of Mr Wall, suspicions were entertained that he was travelling on the frontiers from improper motives, and, on that account, he was treated with severity and reserve, until, in consequence of letters from France, he was permitted to enter Bayonne, where he was kindly entertained by le Duc d'Aumont, at that time governor of the place. On the 14th of January, 1758, he came to Bourdeaux, where he spent several months in a very agreeable manner, as he had many friends, and some relations, in that city. His friends introduced him to the principal merchants in the place, whose affable and obliging manners, contrasted with the cold and reserved dignity of the Spaniards, gave him through life a particular attachment to French society.

From Bourdeaux he continued his journey towards the north of France. Having passed through Perigord, the Limosin, and part of Alsace, he quitted the French territory at Strasburg; then following the course of the Rhine till he reached its confluence with the Maine, he visited Frankfort. From that city he pursued the romantic progress of the united rivers to Bonne, and thence to Cologne; where, finding a French garrison, and judging it imprudent to appear among the enemy's posts, he turned to the left, crossed the Maese, and arrived at Brussels, the capital of the Netherlands. This country, the scene of many remarkable wars, and the grave of many armies, he was desirous to examine, on account of the great variety of military architecture, which it presents to the eye of the traveller. But, while he was preparing to gratify his taste and curiosity, an accident took place which had nearly been attended with disagreeable consequences.

On the second day after his arrival, he was involved in a quarrel with a person who had behaved rudely in his presence to a young gentleman, a stranger, but whose appearance had inclined him to interfere in his defence. The aggressor sent him a challenge, which he accepted. They met, and Mr Bruce wounded his antagonist twice, and, as he at first apprehended, mortally. As the event was doubtful, he found it necessary to leave Brussels as soon as possible. He set out with the utmost expedition for Rotterdam, where he intended to embark for England; but, his friends having communicated intelligence from Brabant that his alarm had been ill-founded, that his antagonist was recovering, and that no disagreeable consequences would ensue, he returned to the Netherlands.

Having met in Holland several English gentlemen in the Dutch service, he obtained, through their friendship, letters of recommendation to Ruremonde, a Dutch frontier town on the eastern bank of the Maese. He proceeded thence with several of his friends, to view the theatre of the war, which was then carried on in the north of Germany between the British and the French, the former under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the latter under the command of the Duc de Clermont. A few years before, Hanover had been overrun by the armies of France. Attachment to their sovereign, and impatience under the excesses of the French, had roused the Hanoverians to expel their invaders. Their attempts were eagerly supported by the partiality which George II. entertained for his German dominions. Assisted by a detachment of British forces, the abilities of Prince Ferdinand, and the alliance of Frederick II. king of Prussia, they met their enemies in the field, and, on the 23d of June 1758, obtained a considerable victory at Crevelt. Mr Bruce arrived at the scene of action in sufficient time to see the battle*. It was the first op-

* Letters to Mr Bruce; and MS. Memoirs.

portunity which he had of seeing any military operation, and the impression which it made on his mind prompted him to return immediately to Britain, to forsake the peaceful life which he had hitherto led, and to rush into adventures more congenial to the spirit of his ancestors.

On arriving at Rotterdam, he received a letter, informing him of the death of his father*, who died at Edinburgh, in May 1758. He was a man of abilities, of an excellent character, and well skilled in country affairs, in which he was often consulted and employed. He was large in his person, of a fair complexion, and in his youth he had been reckoned extremely handsome. His son inherited from him the love of magnificence, the dignity, and stately deportment, not unsuitable to the heir of an ancient family. It may be remarked, as an instance of the transmission of bodily as well as mental qualities through a long line of descendants, that the features and character of Robert Bruce, the firm and haughty leader of the Scottish church in the reign of James VI., were retained by his representatives at the distance of two centuries.

This intelligence obliged Mr Bruce to sail for England, which he reached in the end of July. By his father's death he succeeded to the family estate, a respectable inheritance, but not adequate to the wants of his growing ambition. He did not immediately visit Scotland. His share in the wine trade occupied his whole attention for some time after his arrival. Various circumstances, relating to his affairs in both kingdoms, retarded his former designs; nor was the partnership with his brother-in-law dissolved till the month of August 1761, three years after. But this delay produced no intermission in his studies. With an intention of acquiring the eastern languages, he had collected in Holland most

* Letter from Mr A. Bruce to his brother, Edinburgh, May 8. 1758.

of the books published by the Dutch and Italians on Oriental literature. The labours of Erpenius, Golius, Schultens, and Maracci, opened his way to a knowledge of the Arabic, now the learned language of great part of Asia and Africa. The same curiosity, which had led him to study a branch of learning little connected with European knowledge, induced him to examine, in the works of Ludolf, the Ethiopic, or Geez; a circumstance which perhaps determined him to explore the sources of the Nile.

While these unusual studies occupied his intervals of business or amusement, a particular event in Scotland proved beneficial to his fortune, and to the interests of the whole nation. This was the establishment of a manufacturing company at Carron, in the neighbourhood of his estate *. The person to whom the country is chiefly indebted for that establishment was Dr Roebuck, a most ingenious chemist and physician, who, having discovered a particular method of smelting iron with pit-coal, prevailed on his friends to assist him in beginning a manufactory of that metal. The success of this undertaking is generally known. It was the cause of a considerable addition to Mr Bruce's fortune, and had nearly induced him to relinquish his design of travelling in Africa; in the latter part of his life, too, it occasioned the great expense of labour and time that he bestowed on the management of his coaleries.

In August 1761, he withdrew from the wine business, which he had carried on for seven years, in company with Mr Allan. An object of a different nature now occupied his mind. Mr Pitt had already weakened the chief branch of the Bourbon family, by a vigorous and successful war; but Spain had maintained an appearance of neutrality, which was not expected to be lasting.

* The Carron Company was established in 1760: the first partners were Messrs Roebuck, Garbett, and Caddel. Their connection with Mr Bruce began in the same year.

Anticipating therefore a rupture with that kingdom, and apprised of the adventurous spirit of the minister, Mr Bruce, though unknown in the world, ventured, through the interposition of his friend, Mr Wood, the under-secretary of state, to lay before him a plan which he had concerted in the course of his travels on the continent *.

In his journey through Portugal and Spain, he had spent a few days at Ferrol, in Galicia, where the Spaniards have a considerable harbour, and generally station a part of their navy. Accidental circumstances brought him into the company of several officers in the Spanish service, from whom he received much information concerning the town and the dock-yards, to which he was surprised to find that models of the latest and best constructed British ships of war had been secretly conveyed from England. From some of these persons he procured a plan of the harbour and works at Ferrol, not with any view of using it against the place, but from general curiosity, in the exercise of which he conceived himself justified by the conduct of the Spaniards with regard to the British shipping. A report was then circulated that the court of Spain was about to enter into a war with Britain, to which some credit had been attached, from the jealousy with which the Spaniards had received Lord Howe, who, a short time before, had been driven into Ferrol by stress of weather. On considering the means of defence which this place possessed, it occurred to Mr Bruce, that an attack upon it by a British squadron would be completely successful; and that, in case of a war with Spain, it would be a point at which that country might be easily invaded.

* The following account of the expedition intended against Ferrol is derived almost entirely from the MS. Memoir; with the addition of a few hints from Mr Bruce's letters to Lord Halifax.

An opportunity now seemed to occur when this knowledge, and the observations which he had made, might be turned to account. In the end of the year 1760, he communicated his scheme to Mr Wood, and entered into a full detail of the reasons which had induced him to form it. He added, that in case a war with Spain were resolved upon by the ministry, if the king would entrust him with the command of the forlorn hope, and a pair of colours, he would not desire the assistance of another boat except that in which he embarked, till he had planted them with his own hand on the beach at Ferrol.

As Mr Pitt had not digested his plan of operation respecting Spain, he received Mr Bruce's offer in a favourable manner, but declined adopting it. He allowed him to return to Scotland, where his presence was necessary to his private affairs, which had now been so much improved, as to unsettle his former resolutions, and to incline him to a life of retirement.

But a short time after, Mr Wood sent for him to town, and informed him, that Mr Pitt intended to set on foot an expedition against Ferrol, and wished to converse with him on that subject. After waiting a considerable time for the conference proposed by the minister, he learned from Mr Wood, that another person had offered to interweave a plan with his, of a kind which, on farther information, he considered as impracticable and dangerous. It was proposed to invade France, and to take Bourdeaux with the same army which was afterwards to attack Ferrol, and then to proceed to the relief of Portugal. From a particular knowledge of the country around Bourdeaux, Mr Bruce was convinced that an invasion of France would prove unsuccessful, and be attended with ignominy and loss. He therefore took an opportunity of stating his opinion to Mr Pitt, first, through the under-secretary, and afterwards, at the minister's request, in a written memorial, in which he expressed his sentiments with boldness and freedom.

Mr Pitt, on reading the memorial, approved of Mr Bruce's open and manly behaviour. But the project languished, on account of various obstructions unknown to the proposer, till the time of Mr Pitt's resignation, when the Earls of Bute and Egremont attempted to execute those very measures, in which they had refused to support the former ministry.

Mr Bruce was immediately informed by Mr Wood, that his memorial, addressed to Mr Pitt, had been laid before the king, and that his plan had been strongly recommended by Lord Halifax. The Earl of Egremont and Mr Grenville had several meetings with him, in order to concert the various parts of an expedition against Ferrol, unconnected with any attempt on the coast of France. The execution of the plan was to be entrusted to Lord Howe, with the troops destined for the relief of Portugal. But no sooner had the Portuguese ambassador learned, that these forces were to be employed against the Spaniards in this direction, than he procured an audience of the king, and stated to his majesty the imminent danger of Portugal, and the necessity of direct and immediate assistance in so forcible a manner, that the ministry were prevailed upon to abandon the expedition *.

Disappointed in his offer of public service, Mr Bruce resolved to return to Scotland, where his affairs were now in a situation likely to compensate for the indifferent success of his military projects. In the same evening, however, in which he had received an account of the reasons of the ministry for abandoning the Ferrol expedition, Lord Halifax sent a message by Mr Hamilton, his Lordship's secretary while in Ireland, and Mr Bruce's cousin, requesting to see him before he left London. His Lordship laughed at Mr Bruce's design of retiring to the country so early in life; suggesting to him, that the way to rise in the present reign, was

* Mr Bruce's letter to Lord Halifax, May 31. 1764.

by enterprize and discovery; and that his Majesty's love of the arts was a sure and effectual introduction to patronage. He observed, that Africa, though almost at our very door, was yet unexplored; that Dr Shaw, a writer of undoubted credit, had spoken of magnificent remains of architecture existing in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers; and that something should now be done to preserve them, by drawings, for the king's collection. As a further inducement, he informed him, that Mr Aspenwall, his Majesty's agent and consul-general at Algiers, had been recalled; that a merchant, of the name of Ford, who had been appointed to succeed him, was since dead; in consequence of which the place was vacant. He warmly advised Mr Bruce to accept this opportunity of visiting Africa, under the protection of a public character; promising that he should have leave to appoint a vice-consul for the dispatch of business in his occasional absence; and that, if he made extensive excursions into the country, and large additions to the king's collection, he should be recompensed with the rewards stipulated in the affair of Ferrol, or advanced to a higher situation in the diplomatic department. To these proposals Mr Bruce acceded. He afterwards had several conversations with Lord Halifax and Mr Wood, on the subject of Africa. In the course of these, mention was frequently made of the sources of the Nile, and of the obscurity in which they had ever been concealed. The fountains of the river of Egypt were spoken of as likely to remain wholly unknown to the moderns, unless some undaunted adventurer should trace it to its origin. Hints were obliquely thrown out, that the discovery of these "coy sources" could not be expected from an ordinary traveller, much less from one who had no experience in those difficulties which must accompany an enterprize of such magnitude and glory; and it was insinuated, that, if any Briton should fulfil, in this particular, the wishes of every age, he needed not, under such a monarch, and

in a period so auspicious to discovery and learning, despair of a high reward *.

As the affair of the consulship, owing to temporary circumstances, could not be settled immediately, Mr Bruce returned to Scotland in the winter of the year 1761, leaving the care of his interests to his relation Dr William Pitcairn, and to Mr Wood. The latter of these urged the ministry so closely, that, notwithstanding some obstructions from the influence of others, and a desire which his majesty had been pleased to express of nominating a person previously acquainted with the Barbary states, Mr Bruce was appointed agent and consul-general at Algiers, in February following †. In March 1762 he left Scotland; from which he was to be long absent. When he arrived in London, his friends, amongst whom Mr Wood held a distinguished place, congratulated him on his preferment, from which they expected important consequences. He was introduced to his Majesty, at whose gracious request, it is believed, he promised to make, for his princely collection, accurate and complete delineations of all the ruins of ancient architecture which he should discover in the course of his travels.

The appointment to the consulship being obtained, the next object was to combine with the discharge of its duties, opportunities of travelling and of literary inquiry. It was concerted, that he should pass through France into Italy, and there await orders from government to sail for Algiers. As a pretext for staying in Italy, it was alleged, that a messenger would soon be dispatched

* MS. Memoir, and Introduction to the printed Travels.

† Letter of Mr Wood to Dr Pitcairn, Feb. 4. 1762, requesting him to let Mr Bruce know that the consulship was obtained. Id. from Dr Pitcairn to Mr Bruce in Scotland, dated Feb. 18. 1762, informing him that Mr Wood had concerted the means of his visiting Italy, &c.

to Malta, the grand master of which had incurred his Majesty's displeasure, by partial and unfriendly behaviour during the war; and that Mr Bruce was a proper person to communicate the intelligence of hostilities which were to be commenced against that island by the British fleet, under the command of Admiral Saunders. Mr Wood, intent on promoting the study of art and science, had employed all his influence with the ministry, to procure for his friend a residence of a few months in Italy, for the purpose of improving his taste, and of qualifying him to collect, with greater ability, the remains of antiquity in the southern parts of the Roman empire. By his own exertions, the public had already received an account and delineation of the remains of two very ancient cities in Asia, remarkable for the magnificence of their ruins, and the obscurity in which their history is involved *. He was anxious to contribute further to its instruction and amusement, by procuring a similar description of the African provinces.

Another scientific project engaged, at this time, the attention of the literary world. In the month of June 1761, a transit of Venus, over the disk of the sun, had induced philosophers to hope, from accurate observation, a solution of several difficulties respecting these celestial bodies. In particular, it was expected that the sun's parallax might thus be determined with greater accuracy; that the satellite of Venus, discovered by Cassini in 1686, might again be perceived, and the atmosphere of that planet more fully ascertained. It was known that another transit of Venus over the sun would happen in the year 1769, and be visible in the northern parts of Europe and Asia. Mr Bruce purposed to travel into Armenia with a view to observe this phenomenon, if that excursion could be rendered compatible with his other arrangements.

* Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec by Wood and Dawkins, published 1753 and 1757.

With these designs, he left Britain about the end of June 1762, on board a ship carrying dispatches to Sardinia, which landed him on the coast of France*. His passport through that kingdom, furnished by M. de Choiseul, was reckoned an instance of extreme liberality; and the kindness shewn him by the Count d'Estaing, and other French noblemen, flattered him the more, that another traveller, related to some of the first families in Britain, had been refused the like civility. Having set out from Lyons on the 11th of July, he arrived on the 15th at Turin. In a few days after, he reached the banks of the Po, and successively Parma and Bologna.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of the antiquities, paintings, and other curiosities, which he observed in the course of his journey†; they are described by almost every traveller who has visited Italy before or after him. It must not, however, be omitted, that he took large memoranda respecting every remarkable place and object which he surveyed. His catalogue of the paintings found in different parts of Italy, is very extensive; and his remarks on them are such, as indicate the correctness, no less than the variety, of his taste and judgment‡. The enthusiasm with which he

* Passport, dated Versailles, April 12. 1762. It granted leave to take only two attendants; but was accompanied by a private letter from M. de Choiseul, which is alluded to by Mr Bruce. His credentials to Ali, Dey of Algiers, are dated May 10. and the official order to sail, June 26. 1762.

† The papers which are preserved, relating to this journey, are a narrative of the route from Turin to Bologna. Inscriptions. Account of Trajan's tables—of Bologna—of the paintings there. Route from Bologna to Rome. Description and catalogue of the paintings in St Peter's—the Vatican—Capitol—Belvidere—Albani—Barbarini palaces; in the Pal. Spado—Little Farnese—Colonna—Corsini—Borghese, &c. Route from Rome to Naples. Dissertation on ancient and modern Rome. Florence, &c.

‡ An idea of this catalogue may be formed from the following extract.

List of the paintings in the second room in the palace Pamfilo.

The Virgin, Child, and two Angels, by Mola. Small angels, figure about 16 inches; Dominichino. Virgin, Child, and St John, picture about 2½ feet; Andrea del Sarti. Magdalen of Titian, half-length, well painted; the arms and hands particularly good; head stiff.

trode the faded scene of Roman glory, the ground which produced so many heroes and sages, might be mentioned to his credit, if it were not inseparable from every reflecting and well cultivated mind.

In consequence of the reception which Mr Bruce met with from several persons of distinction in Italy, he was enabled to view it with superior advantage. The Marquis di Ranuzzi paid him, at Bologna, the same flattering attention which M. du Tillot had done at Parma. He arrived at Rome in the beginning of August. The English residing there, and their acquaintance, including almost the whole of the Roman nobility, vied with each other in civilities to the stranger. By their friendship he had an opportunity of examining every thing in their palaces, churches, and cabinets, worthy the attention of a traveller.

It appears, from sketches found among his papers, that he intended to write a short dissertation on the ancient and modern state of Rome. This he probably began for his own amusement, at the time when his imagination was full of the subject, and afterwards abandoned, through deference to the skill, and more favourable opportunities of other inquirers. His notes correct several of those mistakes of former writers, which are noticed by the late Mr Lumisden in his ingenious work, entitled "Roman An-

Endymion asleep, by Guercino; it is well painted, but the drapery of the head is low, and the drapery not noble. A young man with a sheep (or goat), by Michael Angelo Caravaggio. It is well designed, strong colours, rather on the yellow; light and shade strong. Prodigal son, by Guercino, half figures. It is well painted in his strong manner, but seems a little blackened. The head on the left of the picture is scarcely discernible. Magdalen looking at a skull, a head by Dominico Feti, much damaged. In a good style of design, Bartolus and Baldus, two Roman lengths, the left head remarkably fine; said to be by Raphael, but rather seems by Titian. Dead Christ supported by a disciple, the Virgin fainting, and Magdalen bowing at his feet, and worshipping. It is a small picture, about 20 inches high, by Paul Veronese: all the heads fine, the action of the Madonna most graceful; all the draperies well executed. * * * * * * * * *

tiquities." With that gentleman he contracted a sincere and lasting friendship; which, besides other advantages, was the means of procuring for him the only assistant whom he had in the course of his travels.

After satisfying his curiosity, Mr Bruce set out for Leghorn, where he expected to find dispatches from government. Having adjusted the means of communication with Mr Mann, the British consul at that place, he returned in the month of September to Rome *. The three following months he spent chiefly at Florence, well known for the charms of its climate and situation. During this period, he improved himself carefully in drawing; and the taste and skill which he acquired in that art in Italy, produced the excellent style and manner in which his whole collection is allowed to be executed †.

Another year advanced insensibly, in this studious retreat, without bringing any orders to sail for Algiers: The business of Malta still remained unsettled, at least in as far as he had received information. In the month of January 1763, he was instructed to await further commands at Naples, to which he repaired with additional pleasure, as this journey afforded him a view of the South of Italy, and favoured a particular design which the nature of his studies had led him to form. While residing at Florence, he had purchased some drawings of ruined architecture, made in the kingdom of Naples by a Spanish officer. It occurred to him that these might be engraved, and published, along with a dissertation on Paesto, the place where the ruins were found, on a new and ingenious plan devised by himself. He had observed, that a number of ancient coins, belonging to this and other inferior cities of Italy, existed in the cabinets of the curious. These authentic monuments, the work of different periods and ages, he purposed to col-

* Mr Wood, letters to Mr Bruce at Rome, dated August 25. 1762.

† Letters to and from Mr Bruce at Florence, 1762 and 1763.

lect, arrange, and describe, in such a manner, as should, along with other information, illustrate the history of the place. On arriving at Naples, he communicated this project to Sir James Gray, the British Ambassador in that city, and requested him to undertake a small work on Paesto, in which the coins should contribute a considerable share of historical instruction.

Sir James, though exceedingly well qualified for this undertaking, on account of his skill in ancient architecture, and of the number of coins in his possession, declined to comply with the request: but he strongly advised Mr Bruce himself to visit Paesto, in order to verify or correct the drawings, promising at the same time all his influence and assistance in promoting the projected work. With this intention Mr Bruce set out from Naples on a journey to the ruins, the principal of which he found to be three temples of the Doric order. Of these he took plans and elevations, which are still preserved in his collection of drawings. He also traced the walls of the city, which are about three miles in circumference, built with large uncemented stones. He investigated also the ruins of an amphitheatre, an aqueduct, and some baths*.

He returned from Paesto much satisfied with his excursion, and began to arrange the materials of his account. Having left Naples,

* Posidonia or Paestum, was founded by a colony of Dorians from the Peloponnesus, about the time when the south of Italy acquired, on account of its Greek population, the name of Magna Graecia. The ruins are about fifty miles S. E. of Naples, situated on a bay, which was called after the town. It was successively taken by the Crotonians, Lucanians, and Romans. These last sent a colony to Paestum, which preserved its fidelity to the mother state during the second Carthaginian war. Under the empire, it became like most of the other Italian towns, obscure and inconsiderable. It was burnt by the Saracens in the year 915, and much dilapidated by the Norman princes in the 11th century. The remaining ruins, which nevertheless are very ancient, attracted the attention of no antiquary before the year 1746, when the curiosity of the public was excited by the notices of Baron Antonini. Among Mr Bruce's papers are two copies in MS. of the work which at that time he designed to publish on this subject. Copies of the drawings are also in his collection. The plates from them, engraved by Sir Robert Strange, are supposed to be lost.

where he had no communications from the ministry, he passed on to Rome, and thence to Florence. At the latter city, he engaged a painter* to compose a frontispiece for his intended work, and entrusted the engraving of the drawings to his friend Mr Strange, then in Italy. In the month of February†, dispatches arrived from England, informing him, that the Grand Master of Malta had sent an ambassador to the British court, who had explained the causes of his master's conduct in a manner satisfactory to his Majesty. About the same time, a British ship received orders to stand in for the Italian coast, and carry Mr Bruce to the place of his appointment.

* Sign. Zocchi.

† Mr Wood's official order, dated February 8, and Captain Howe of the Montreal's letter from Leghorn to Mr Bruce, March 2. 1763.

SECTION II.

THE ship in which Mr Bruce sailed from Leghorn arrived at Algiers on the 20th of March 1763, from which time he began to discharge the duties of his office with great ability and perseverance. As the origin and character of the Barbary states are too well known to require a particular description, the following account is restricted to the period of his consulship, which was uncommonly dangerous and disagreeable.

For several months after his arrival, no remarkable incident occurred. Being already acquainted with the written Arabic, he applied diligently to the study of that language as it is spoken in Barbary; for, although the consul is always supplied with an interpreter, Mr Bruce had resolved to make little use of such assistance. He next directed his attention to the politics of the country, which, at that time, were unfavourable to Britain. The court of Algiers was displeased at the moderate terms on which the English enjoyed peace, while other Christian states were annually paying them large sums of money for that advantage; and this discontent spread rapidly among the populace and soldiers, whose turbulence rose to such a height as to make it dangerous for the consul to appear in public.

The divan, or council, was divided into parties. At the head of one of these was the Aga Mahomet, the Dey's brother, who was followed by all the independent and intelligent officers: The other was led by the Dey himself, who knew that a war with Britain was a measure agreeable to the indigent part of the community, and also strongly recommended by the renegadoes, his particular friends *.

These favourites detected a circumstance, in the state of the English trade in the Mediterranean, which they artfully attempted to turn to their own advantage. The article in the treaty of peace and commerce †, which defines the passport to be carried by English ships in those seas, uses the words " proper passes;" by which the Algerines were accustomed to understand *a printed paper, issued by the Admiralty, with a check like a bank-note.* A number of these passports fell into the hands of the French, on the taking of Minorca in 1756, and were sold by them to the Spaniards, and other nations enemies to the Barbary states. To remedy the inconvenience arising from this accident, the governors of Mahon, Gibraltar, and other British ports, furnished the shipping with *written certificates;* but the pirates could not read, nor distinguish these, as they wanted the check; nor would the Dey and his ministers give credit to the consul's explanation of the cause which occasioned the use of them. The renegadoes inveighed against the supposed duplicity and arrogance of the English, and

* The particulars respecting Mr Bruce's consulship are derived from his official correspondence with Lord Halifax, from April 1763 till May 1765. Copies of most of the letters transmitted to Government are preserved in his own hand-writing. The letters which he received on business, from 1763 till 1765, have been also consulted. *Vide* Appendix, note E. No. V.–XV.

† The treaty of peace and commerce, between the British and Algerines, was concluded by Admiral Herbert in 1682. It has been often renewed and amended; but the articles are neither well understood nor observed.

importuned their master to order every ship to be seized which carried a *passavant* *.

As Mr Bruce opposed this counsel with the utmost resolution, the Dey disowned him as consul, and sent a messenger to England to solicit his removal. Acts of violence and insult daily occurred. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Aga's party, the confidence of which Mr Bruce had fortunately secured, orders were issued † soon after to seize and confiscate every ship bearing a written passport. The consul succeeded, however, in warning the trade in the Mediterranean of this danger. Only one ship of this description came into the harbour. It was immediately seized, the captain and crew made slaves, and the vessel itself broken to pieces ‡.

In the same strain of violence, the Dey's favourites detained a messenger §, whom Mr Bruce had sent off with dispatches to government, and proposed to force his secretary, by torture, to discover their contents. The refusal of the captain of an English frigate ‖, to carry a letter from the Dey to Commodore Harrison then stationed in the Mediterranean, threw the leading party in the divan into the greatest rage against Mr Bruce, to whom it erroneously ascribed the conduct of that officer. The renegadoes demanded his immediate dismission, and could scarcely be restrained from treating him ignominiously. It had been customary at Algiers to make the consuls of other European powers, on occasions when they became obnoxious, draw the stone-cart, and to subject their servants to the bastinado. Mr Bruce was saved from this disgraceful sentence by the influence of the Aga's party;

* Name given to a passport of this kind in the Mediterranean.

† July 8th 1764. ‡ July 17th.

§ Mr Ball, surgeon to the consulship, detained July 22d.

‖ Captain Dent of the Deal Castle frigate, which had been dispatched by Commodore Harrison for the purpose of warning the shipping in the Mediterranean not to go to Algiers

but received orders to leave the country in three days, under pain of death *.

When he was on the point of embarking, an important change took place in the divan. All the great officers went in a body to the Dey, and stated to him the ruinous consequences of a war with England, which, they affirmed, could be prevented only by detaining the consul. The Dey, struck with a panic at this unexpected application, requested Mr Bruce to stay till the differences should be adjusted, during which time he promised to behave to him "as a father to a son."

Though Mr Bruce had written to Lord Halifax, then minister for the southern department, a regular account of his situation, both he and the Algerines were kept in suspense, during eight months after this remonstrance, with regard to the designs of the British government. The ministry seems to have paid little regard to his dispatches, though they certainly merited particular attention. A report prevailed at Algiers, that an English squadron, destined for the coast of Barbary, was assembling in the Mediterranean, a report which excited the expectation of the consul, and alarmed the Dey and his favourites to such a degree as to make him express an unusual desire of peace. Several of the renegadoes confessed to Mr Bruce the part which they had taken in the former outrages. The ministry at home formed no resolutions of importance: They only issued an order † for abolishing the use of passavants, and desired Mr Bruce to inform the Dey that regular passports would be speedily prepared, though they could not

* Mr Bruce received this order August 15th, and wrote to Lord Halifax on the same day. The remonstrance was made on the 17th, being Friday, the Mahometan sabbath, on which the divan is always assembled. He wrote an account of his being detained to the minister on the 20th. As he had stated that he was on the point of leaving Algiers, a letter from Lord Halifax, October 19th, intimated his recall; which was countermanded November 3d. After this Mr Bruce had no further communications from government.

† Order for abolishing the use of passavants, Dec. 19. 1764.

be circulated for a considerable time. They acknowledged his services, and laid an account of them before his Majesty, which was honoured with his gracious approbation *.

As soon as the order was issued, the Dey's messenger †, already mentioned, wrote a letter to his master, informing him, that the King of England had freely consented to the seizure of all British ships bearing passavants; that he was much displeased at the conduct of his consul; and that he intended to dispatch an ambassador to Algiers, with an agent more agreeable to the Dey. On receiving this intelligence, the Algerine navy put to sea in quest of prizes. An accident prevented the success of the expedition; but the impropriety of encouraging these pirates to scour the seas about Gibraltar, where they could not fail to enslave a number of unhappy persons in the service of the English garrisons, excited Mr Bruce's surprise and resentment ‡. The report of his having incurred the displeasure of the King, or rather that of the ministry, he treated at first as a slander invented by his enemies; but subsequent events induced him to believe that it was not totally destitute of foundation. A party at Algiers, which had considerable influence in England, had long been engaged in conveying to those in power accounts injurious to his character and reputation. Besides the natural opposition of such as wished to establish their friends in the consulship, he had excited the malice of a number of persons, by the rigid abhorrence which he had always shown of every thing mean or unjust, and by the haughty distance at which he had

* Letter from Lord Halifax, Sept. 18. 1764.

† This messenger was by birth a native of the north of Scotland. His surname was Duncan. He had been obliged to emigrate on account of having endeavoured, *vi et armis*, to oppose certain innovations in psalm-singing, introduced by the clergyman of his parish. For this unenlightened but zealous effort in defence of the popular mode of psalmody, he was forced to go abroad, where he found liberty of conscience in the service of the Dey of Algiers.

‡ Letters to Lord Halifax from Algiers, April 5th and 24th 1765.

kept those whom he knew to be undeserving of his confidence. Instead of conniving at dishonesty, he expressed his open decided contempt of it on every occasion. This conduct inclined many to palliate the outrages of the Dey, and to depreciate the independent spirit with which the consul had opposed them *.

In the course of his official correspondence with the ministry, Mr Bruce had, at times, ventured to remind Lord Halifax of the promise which he had given, to allow him a few months absence on a journey through the interior of the country, before he should resign his appointment. The minister seemed willing to oblige him in this particular, but never performed his promise †. His letters were extremely few and short. In autumn, 1764, he informed Mr Bruce that Mr Goldsworthy was appointed his successor; but no further accounts arrived from government till May following, when he received intimation of the appointment of Captain Cleveland, as his Majesty's ambassador to the Barbary states, and of Mr Kirke, as consul at Algiers. No mention was made of the permission which Mr Bruce had solicited with so much anxiety; some of the ministry were said to have even censured his request as improper; accordingly he was reduced to the necessity either of making his excursion as a private individual, or of abandoning that which was the principal inducement to his residence in Barbary.

The verbal submission of the Dey, together with his protestations of sincerity, and offers of compensation for the damages sustained by the English, persuaded Captain Cleveland to ratify the peace without any minute investigation or scruple. He treated Mr Bruce with coldness ‡; made little use of his assistance in

* The minute detail of the particulars on which this statement is founded, might, if necessary, be given from the papers still preserved, that exhibit very clearly, every part of his conduct at Algiers.

† Letters from Mr Wood to Mr B. London, 26th October, 1764.

‡ Letters between Mr Bruce and Amb. Cleveland, June 20, 24, 28, &c. 1765.

settling public affairs; and spent his time chiefly in the company of those whom the consul had avoided. Mr Bruce resented his behaviour, and thought that a spirit, becoming the dignity of the British nation, would have operated redress of injuries in a different manner *.

The Dey of Algiers, though guided by the counsels of renegadoes, had long admired the firmness and integrity with which Mr Bruce had served his country. A kind of friendly intercourse had subsisted between them, from the time of the remonstrance already mentioned. The Aga Mahomet was his particular friend, visited him frequently, and invited him to his hunting parties. The knowledge which Mr Bruce possessed of the Arabic language was of great service to him in this intercourse with the nobles, and gave him an opportunity of hearing their private sentiments, and of stating his own opinion on many subjects never confided to the ear of an interpreter. At a private audience of the Dey, which he obtained for the purpose of asking his permission to travel through the inland provinces of Algiers, he had the satisfaction to receive the most cordial promises of friendship and protection in the course of his journey, and letters of recommendation to the governors of the places which he intended to visit.

Mr Bruce sailed for Tunis, on the 25th of August 1765, along the African coast, by Ras el Hamra, Tabarca †, and Bona. Having passed Biserta, he went on shore to examine the ruins of Utica and Carthage; and on arriving at Tunis, he obtained permission

* Mr Bruce delivered a very accurate statement of the different infringements of the treaty, which had taken place during his consulship, to the ambassador. June 24. 1765.

† Mr Bruce had proposed to Lord Halifax to obtain the island of Tabarca from the Bey of Tunis, as a station for the British trade in the Mediterranean. The Bey was willing to grant it, and a description of the place was transmitted to the minister, about the time when the disturbances prevailed at Algiers. Copies of that description, and of the information which Mr Bruce had collected very extensively respecting the island, are preserved among his papers.

from the Bey to travel through his dominions in any direction he might think proper.

The British consul in that city was Mr Gordon, who was a relation of Mr Bruce, and eager to serve him. The French consul, M. de Saisieu, a gentleman of the most accomplished and amiable character, was equally desirous to promote his designs, and to render his stay at Tunis agreeable and commodious.

The preparations of various kinds which he had made for this journey were numerous. He was perfectly acquainted with the Moorish language and character. To assist him in drawing, he had procured from Rome a young Bolognese architect and painter, called Luigi Balugani, who had been patronised by the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and who discovered excellent talents for his profession, though his experience was yet very limited, and his knowledge imperfect. This artist was chosen and engaged for Mr Bruce by Mr Lumisden *, the ingenious author of "Roman Antiquities," and was the only Italian who would consent to undertake a journey into Africa. Under Mr Bruce's direction, he became an expert and able draughtsman. The number of drawings which they executed together is, indeed, surprising. They delineated the ruins of all the ancient cities in the north of Africa, of Balbec and Palmyra, besides many articles in natural history, in a manner which the best judges have honoured with their approbation. Part of their labours was facilitated by the use of a camera obscura †, which Mr Bruce had procured from London, along with astronomical instruments for the purpose of ascertaining the geography of the country.

* Agreement in Italian between L. Balugani and A. Lumisden for Mr Bruce, Rome, February 9. 1765. Letters of Mr Lumisden to Mr B. July 13. 1765.

† Letter from Mr William Hamilton, London, November 6. 1764, and April 5. 1765, about the camera obscura, and the plates engraved by Strange for Mr Bruce's work on Paesto.

They set out from Tunis about the middle of September 1765 *, into the interior. Their route lay at first along the river Majerda, to Tucca, Keff, and Hydra, the district of the Welled Sidi Booganim. In all these places, they found ruins of Grecian architecture, which Mr Bruce delineated, and of which, as well as of the other ancient cities which he afterwards visited in Barbary, a short account may be found in the Introduction to his Travels. He proceeded from Hydra to Tipasa, and thence entered Constantina, the most easterly and beautiful province belonging to Algiers. Near Constantina †, the principal town, in which the Dey has a palace, Mr Bruce discovered the ruins of Cirta, the capital of Syphax. Having rested some days at the palace, where the Dey had given orders for his reception, he advanced to Siteef, Taggouzainah, Medrashem, and Jibbel Aures, where he met with a savage tribe, the colour of whose hair and whose features seem to indicate their descent from the nations in the north of Europe. From Jibbel Aures he returned towards Tunis by Tezzoute, Cassareen, Spaitla, Muchtar, and Tugga. In most of these places, particularly at Spaitla, he found magnificent ruins, either of temples, triumphal arches, or other public buildings, erected by the Romans, in the best ages of the Empire.

His next journey from Tunis was by Zowan, Jelloula, and Cassareen, to Feriana, or Thala. From Thala he returned by Cafsa, Tozer, Shibgah el Lowdeah, Gabs, El Hammah, and El Gemme, and thence, along the sea coast, to Tunis, where he arrived in good health, and made his acknowledgements to the Bey for the friendly protection with which he had honoured him in the course of his journies.

* These journies, as appears by letters to and from the British and Venetian consuls at Tunis, &c. were performed between September 1765, and February 1766.

† Letter of Mr B. to Consul Gordon from Constantina, January 2. 1766.

He next prepared to visit Tripoly, the road to which was dangerous on various accounts. The Bey of Tunis was at enmity with the Basha of Tripoly, and would grant him no letters of recommendation to that prince: The intermediate country was infested by tribes of independent Arabs, particularly by the Wargamma and Noile, who inhabit the wide sandy deserts between the two states: The Basha of Tripoli was also at variance with the Hon. Mr Fraser of Lovat, British consul in that city, to whom Mr Bruce had written a letter, requesting him to procure an escort from the government. This the Basha readily promised, but neglected to send it. When Mr Bruce saw that no assistance could be obtained from either state, he rashly ventured to cross the desert, attended only by his own servants; a measure of which he had reason to repent. Having taken the road, which he had formerly travelled, to Gabs, he proceeded to Gerba, the Meninx Insula of antiquity, situated on the borders of a sandy desert, famous for robberies, and destitute of all accommodation for travellers. The Bey of Tunis, with his usual munificence, had prepared for him a house at Gerba before his arrival, and sent every sort of refreshment from his own palace. Provisions were furnished to the whole company, at the Bey's expence, for the space of a month; the time which was spent in waiting for an escort from Tripoly. As none arrived, they attempted to pass the desert alone, being only ten in number, of whom seven were embarrassed by attending to the camels which carried their water and food. On the third night after leaving Gerba, Mr Bruce and his little company, which he had increased and encouraged by every means in his power, were assailed by a number of Arab horsemen; whom they repulsed with difficulty, and with the loss of four men. They were received at Tripoly with every sort of kindness by Mr Fraser, who had despaired of their safety. The misfortunes which they had encountered were imputed to the Basha, who

had failed to grant them an escort, and who probably intended, if they had fallen, to lay the blame of their murder on the English consul *.

As this was not the time for asking favours of the Basha, Mr Bruce deferred his journey till Mr Harrison, who was appointed by government to settle the differences with the Barbary states, should solicit permission for him to travel through the dominions of Tripoly. He therefore returned along the coast of the lesser Syrtis to Tunis, where he resided till August 1766. The Basha gave Mr Bruce permission to visit every part of his territories, and added many promises of favour and protection, which were never fulfilled. As soon as the latter knew that he might pass the desert in safety, he proceeded, by the way of Sfax and Gerba †, again to Tripoly, where he was kindly received by the British, French, and Venetian consuls.

From Tunis and Tripoly he dispatched his books, drawings, and supernumerary instruments, to Smyrna, in Asia Minor, reserving only such articles as should be necessary in his journey through the Pentapolis and Cyrenaicum. By this measure he fortunately saved the greatest part of his labours in Africa. He then crossed the gulph of Sidra, in ancient times called the greater Syrtis, and landed at Bengazi, a city founded by one of the Ptolmies ‡.

A brother of the Basha of Tripoly commanded in this barren and distant province; an office for which he was ill qualified on account of his youth and inferior abilities. He had suffered the

* Letter of Mr Bruce to Mr Wood, April 2. 1766.

† Mr Bruce's letter to M. Durand at Tunis from Gerba, August 18. 1766.

‡ Letters, &c. to Mr Bruce at Sidon from Consul Gordon, Tunis, 23d September 1767. Mr Bruce left with Mr Gordon many of his books and drawings, which were sent to Sidon by way of Alexandria. The rest were sent from Tripoly by way of Smyrna, Nov. 1766. He arrived at Tripoly in the beginning of September, where he remained till the 25th of October.

independent Arabs near the town to engage in mutual hostilities, which occasioned a famine, the most dreadful of all calamities in a place so destitute of resources as Bengazi. The inhabitants had been threatened with a scarcity for more than a year before; but their miseries were completed by an accession of four thousand Arabs, one of the contending parties, which was driven into the town by the arms of the other. All the horrors of famine instantly appeared. Ten or twelve persons were found dead in the streets every morning; and some were reported to have prolonged a miserable existence, by means from which nature recoils. Mr Bruce entreated the Bey to send him out of the town, to some place farther to the south, among the Arabs, where the famine was less felt.

The Bey consented, and allowed him to pass into the interior, where he visited whatever places he thought worthy of notice, approaching the coast, or leaving it, as convenience suggested. He found nothing remarkable at Barca or Arsinoe. At Ras Sem he had the satisfaction of disproving an improbable story common in Africa, and circulated in England by a Tripoline ambassador. It had been asserted that a city existed in that place, the inhabitants of which had been all petrified by a special judgment of heaven. They were described, to the great amazement of the credulous, as still visible, fixed in the several attitudes, and at the different employments, in which they were overtaken by the divine vengeance.

Whether Mr Bruce visited the ruins of Curin, the ancient Cyrene, is uncertain. At Ptolometa, formerly Ptolemais, a city, of which the walls and gates are still entire, he delineated the few remaining columns of the portico of a temple of the Ionic order. These are hewn in the first manner of executing that species of architecture; and, though a scanty relic, deserved preservation as a historical monument of the art.

His excursions to the eastward were impeded by the cold unfriendly behaviour of the Bey of Bengazi, who was unwilling and unable to grant him the necessary protection*. He purposed to have reached Derna, but famine and the plague desolated that place. The Welled Ali Arabs, who occupy the country between Derna and Alexandria, were at war with one another, and plundered every stranger whom they could find. He therefore embraced the first opportunity of leaving Africa, by engaging the master of a small Greek vessel to carry him and his servants over to the island of Crete. The vessel was in very bad order, and the captain totally ignorant of naval affairs. After they had sailed a short way, the weather became stormy, which obliged them to return towards Bengazi; but before they could enter the harbour they were shipwrecked near Ptolometa. Mr Bruce swam ashore with great difficulty, and was cruelly treated by the Arabs while he lay in a state of insensibility on the beach. Fortunately none of his servants perished in the shipwreck; but he lost his astronomical instruments, a great number of drawings, and other valuable articles. The Shekh of Ptolemeta, the place where he was driven ashore, was at peace with the Bey of Bengazi, and sent Mr Bruce and his servants to that city†.

How long he remained there after his shipwreck is not exactly known‡. He supplied the want of provisions by fishing, an expedient to which the ignorant inhabitants were averse amidst the horrors of famine. From several circumstances, it would seem that he was detained above two months, and at last escaped in

* Letter of M. Saisieu of Tunis, to Mr Bruce at Bengazi, Dec. 29. 1766; and that of M. de Lancey of Tripoly, of the same date.

† Introduction, Vol. I. pp. 48, 49, of the Travels, 2d edit.

‡ Mr Bruce, as appears from letters addressed to him, was at Bengazi from October 27. till 29th December 1766. It is supposed that he reached Crete in January 1767.

a small French vessel, the captain of which he had known while at Algiers. In four or five days easy sailing, the ship arrived at Canea, a fortified place of some consequence in the island of Crete, where he was kindly received by M. Amoureux the French consul, a gentleman of engaging manners and of a very benevolent heart, who procured for him every accommodation which the island could afford.

The fatiguing exertion of his shipwreck at Ptolemeta, the rude treatment on the shore, and the miseries which Mr Bruce had suffered at Bengazi, had greatly affected his health. He was seized with an intermittent fever at Canea, and detained there for several months. While in that place, he was informed that many remarkable ruins had been seen on the adjoining continent, in Carmania, a Turkish province, which comprehends a great part of what was formerly called Asia Minor. With a design of visiting these, on his recovery he wrote to Mr Murray, then British ambassador at Constantinople, to obtain for him a firman, or imperial passport, through the countries on the south-east of the Mediterranean*. His health being still precarious, he had not left Crete when he received a very obliging letter from M. Peysonnel †, French consul at Smyrna, at the instance of M. Saisieu of Tunis. It enclosed two letters of recommendation, one addressed to the Khan of the Tartars, then in exile at Rhodes, and another to Hassan *tchiaus oglou*, a person of great authority in Asia Minor, whose influence would have procured access to all the Agas of Caramania. To this favour, worthy of M. Peysonnel's amiable character and attachment to literature, was added the offer of his house when Mr Bruce should arrive at Smyrna. He gave him also a letter of introduction to his brother-in-law M. Clairembaut, French consul

* Letters of Mr Murray, Constantinople, March 31, April 15, and April 28. 1767.

† M. Peysonnel's letter, Smyrna, May 28. 1767.

at Sidon; which was attended with consequences very fortunate for the traveller *.

Having left Canea about the end of April 1767, he sailed to Rhodes, where he found his books and papers, which had been forwarded from Tunis and Tripoly. From Rhodes he proceeded to Castel Rosso, on the coast of Caramania, where his illness returned, and obliged him to give up all hopes of travelling in Asia Minor. Despairing of being able to prosecute this design, as soon as his fever abated, he bore away for Sidon on the coast of Phœnicia, and landed at Beirout, the ancient Berytus †. At Sidon he was kindly received by M. Clairembaut, a gentleman whom he found to be equal in humanity, and every social quality, to any whom he had ever known. It was Mr Bruce's fortune to receive many of the most important services for which one man can be indebted to another, from the hand of strangers. The French had at that time a flourishing establishment in the Levant, and the taste, politeness, and virtues, of those who then composed it, well deserve the greatest encomium. The most amiable trait of their national character was displayed in the numerous attentions which he received from all quarters during his residence at Sidon. He spent in the families of the merchants there, and at Aleppo, which he afterwards visited, some of the happiest moments of his life ‡.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader, that the country around Sidon is classic ground. From this city, which was as respectable

* Mr Bruce corresponded extensively while he was in the Levant (1767 and 1768), with M. Amoureux, and Sign. Raicewitch, French and Ragusan consuls at Canea; Mr Baldwin, English consul in Cyprus, Mr Vernon and Mr Abbot, English consuls at Tripoly of Syria and Sidon, M. Belville of Aleppo, and several others.

† Letters of Mr Bruce to M. Belville, dated Beirout, June 30. 1767.

‡ Introduction to the Travels, 2d edit. pp. 54. 58.

for its literature in the latter ages, as it was celebrated for its commerce in the earliest periods of antiquity, the Greeks, and from them Europe in general, received arts and letters. At present, no monuments remain to shew that it ever was considerable. Its principal manufacture is silk, which the inhabitants raise in the gardens around the town. By imprudently sleeping all night in the tents erected in them, for the convenience of the manufacturers, Mr Bruce relapsed into the ague and fever which had seized him in Africa. He was confined several weeks; but, as soon as his strength returned, he amused himself with short excursions to Mount Libanus, and other places in the vicinity of Sidon, well known in ancient history, but not remarkable at present. On the 29th of July 1767, he was at Paneas, one of the sources of the river Jordan, where he found the papyrus growing in the marsh in that place. On the 31st, he made a drawing and description of the Musa or Banana tree, which he had also met with in the course of his travels in Phœnicia.

In the beginning of August he arranged the plan of a journey to Balbec and Palmyra. The English consul at Tripoly procured * him a letter of recommendation from the Aga of that place to Mahomet Kerfan, a Shekh at Hassia, a town between Aleppo and Palmyra. The Arab chief informed Mr Bruce by a messenger, that the road which he intended to travel to Palmyra from Aleppo was expensive and dangerous; because the Mutuali and Annecy, two tribes which possess the surrounding country, were on bad terms with one another, and could not ensure protection to strangers. This Shekh was official protector of the caravans passing by Palmyra, and supported his influence with the different tribes by intermarriages and friendship. His advice was therefore to be relied upon, especially as he promised to send

* Common-place Books, No. 2.

a guide to Hamath, the northern boundary of the Holy Land, who, if the Arabs were at peace, would conduct Mr Bruce to the ruins of Tadmor *.

On the 16th of September, Mr Bruce set out from Sidon on his way to Balbec. In the morning of the 18th, he unexpectedly fell in with a party of Druses, pagan inhabitants of mount Libanos, who were waiting for the arrival of their prince, the Emir Yousef. That chief had just finished the conquest of Balbec, and deposed the reigning governor for rebellion. Mr Bruce was relieved from the company of these mountaineers, about an hour after, by the appearance of Yousef and his army, with their green ensign carried before them. Yousef, to whom he had been recommended, gave him letters and a passport for Balbec; at which he arrived on the 19th in perfect security.

He immediately began to measure and delineate the principal ruins; which are well known to be highly magnificent. Balbec was probably founded long before the dawn of history, as the worship of the sun, under the name of Baal, "the king of heaven," is so ancient in that country, that the earliest Asiatic writings extant allude to the practice as common and established. When Asia became subject to the Romans, the piety and munificence of the Cæsars rebuilt many of its decayed temples, with a splendour which far surpassed the ability of its native kings. The temple of the sun, in this city, was repaired by order of Aurelian, and decorated with the fine proportions of the Corinthian order. The history of Balbec, however, notwithstanding the beauty of the place, is exceedingly obscure. No Greek or Roman author mentions the particular cause of its having obtained so large a share of imperial favour. Like Palmyra, it was probably one of the

* Palmyra is universally called Tadmor, in the East.

stations of the Indian trade, and owed its consequence and support to that circumstance. The ruins of the temples have suffered greatly from time and other injuries. Mr Bruce delineated every thing that deserved attention in them, being fully at leisure, and unmolested.

Having finished his operations at Balbec, he returned to Tripoly, whence, in a few weeks, he set out for Palmyra. He proceeded by Hassia and Cariateen, under the protection of the Shekh of Hassia, which is situated on the western border of the desert. Having travelled about sixty miles through the sandy wilderness, without intermission, day or night, he and his company, on the morning of the 19th of October, reached the top of the adjoining eminence, from which travellers obtain the first view of Palmyra. From this hill they descried, with all the astonishment naturally excited by a sight so remarkable, the remains of the city of Zenobia, perhaps the most magnificent in the world. Though time and violence have greatly impaired its original beauties, Palmyra still appears to be one of the most splendid works of human industry and genius, that ever have been abandoned to solitude, desolation, and ruin.

As it was impossible that two persons could delineate the ruins, each in a separate state, in the time allotted for their stay, Mr Bruce divided the whole into six angular views, bringing into the fore-ground of each a principal edifice, or groupe of columns. The state of the buildings was favourable for this method; the soil on which the town is built being hard, and the columns uncovered to the base. He made, in all, thirteen large drawings, which, along with those of Balbec, he presented, on his return, to the king. As Mr Wood had before obliged the public with measures of the principal ruins, he omitted that labour, having resolved to publish nothing concerning a place which his friend had described.

He returned to Tripoly in the end of October, and, after a short stay with Mr Abbot, the English consul, travelled along the coast northward to Latakia, the ancient Laodicea ad mare, where he spent some days with Mr Vernon, consul in that town. From Latakia he came to Antioch, and thence to Aleppo, where his fever and ague returned with a violence which threatened his life. His usual good fortune did not desert him in this perilous state of health. He had been recommended, at his arrival in Syria, by Belli and Fonnereau, bankers in Leghorn, to M. Belville, a French merchant in Aleppo. Never was any recommendation more successful, nor a heart more susceptible of friendship than that of M. Belville. The sentiments and pursuits of Mr Bruce were so congenial to the mind of this gentlemen, that they soon became attached to one another, and maintained a regular correspondence, as far as their respective situations would admit, till the former was settled in Scotland *. The state of health in which Mr Bruce was on his arrival at Aleppo, required every comfort that could be procured, and Mr Belville was not an indolent host. He engaged the assistance of Dr Patrick Russel, physician to the English factory, a gentleman, well known in the literary world for his ingenious treatise on the plague. By the attentions of the one friend, and the medical skill of the other, Mr Bruce recovered slowly, and though, on account of his illness, he had made no visits, he was, by the kindness of those about him, already become a public care. The French, in particular, who almost adored Mr Belville, heaped civilities on a man whom he had spoken of in the most flattering terms. As soon as he

* The first letter which Mr Bruce received from Mr Belville, is dated Alep. 28. Juin, 1767. Those which afterwards passed between them are both long and numerous; they relate, however, chiefly to private affairs, and the state of the French families in the Levant. Mr Belville collected a number of coins and other curiosities for Mr Bruce, being exceedingly well skilled in these matters.

could appear in public, he gratified their expectations so fully, that the reception he every where met with, obliged him to confess, that he never passed more agreeable hours in his life than in their society.

At this time he seized the opportunity of gaining another attainment, which he afterwards found to be of much utility. He had studied under Dr Ball, physician to the consulship at Algiers, some of the practical parts of medicine, with a view to use them on occasions when other assistance could not be procured. This kind of knowledge, however imperfect, is of great service to a traveller in barbarous countries, where he may often, by means of it, preserve his own life, and gain admission into places otherwise inaccessible. Mr Bruce intended to visit a country where the character of physician was the best introduction both to the court and nation. Dr Russel, therefore, at his request, furnished him with books and instruction. No man was better skilled in the diseases of the east; he described to his friend such of them as occur most frequently, with the modes of treating them; and pointed out a number of suitable medicines, which Mr Bruce carried with him into Abyssinia.

Two different objects occupied at this time Mr Bruce's attention. One of them was the transit of Venus over the sun, which was to happen in June 1769. He wished to observe that phenomenon, which was visible only in the northern part of the globe; but this could not be done without undertaking a long and dangerous journey through Armenia, and the regions to the north of it, inhabited by the wandering Tartars. The vast distance between Asia Minor and a place suitable for observing the transit, seems to have made less impression on his mind than it reasonably ought to have done. He had procured routes of the way to the shores of the Caspian, and probably would have attempted to reach them, if other difficulties had not prevented him. But he

had lost all his astronomical instruments at Bengazi, and observations of such importance required the most improved which had yet been constructed. He had written to his friends in France and England, requesting them to purchase for him such instruments as he described. Their answers discouraged him greatly. They informed him, that no instruments fit for his purpose could be procured in time, as all the best artists were already engaged by the different astronomers who intended to observe the transit. This disappointment was aggravated by accounts, which he received from England, of absurd and disrespectful stories relating to himself and his travels, which had been circulated there by some persons envious of his reputation.

The other project was a journey into Abyssinia, in which most of the learned had placed the sources of the Nile. The discovery of these had been long held out as an achievement worthy of the ambition of kings, and had taken deeper possession of Mr Bruce's mind than any other project. But as this could not be accomplished in a scientific manner, without the aid of astronomical instruments, he was obliged to await the issue of the application that he had made to his friends, and which he had too much reason to apprehend would be unfavourable *.

In the beginning of March 1768 he left Aleppo. In his way to Tripoly, he came to the Asi, or Orontes, the ford of which could not be distinguished, as the river was swollen with the rains from the mountains. The natives treacherously pointed out a place where there had formerly been a bridge, at which, having attempted to pass, he and his horse fell suddenly into a deep and rapid current, out of which he escaped with the greatest difficulty.

* Letter of Dr P. Russel to Dr A. Russel, in London, dated Aleppo, February 11, 1768. Mr Bruce to Mr Russel, from Sidon, March 29, 1768, and the answer by Mr Russel, June 23. Letters from M. Guys of Marseilles, in answer to those of Mr Bruce, dated Marseilles, March 12, 29, and September 27, 1768.

He thence travelled slowly along the Phoenician shore, and halted several days at Tripoly, Beirout, Tortosa, and other places on the way, where he had friends, or wished to gratify curiosity.

Soon after arriving at the hospitable mansion of M. Clerembaut, he received letters from his friends in Europe, informing him, that they had procured, and would ship for Alexandria, a quantity of astronomical instruments. As these were to be dispatched for Egypt, and well-founded reasons inclined him to doubt of the success of a journey into the north of Asia, he resolved to visit the former country, which Norden and Pococke had praised for the magnificence of its ancient architecture. He expected to find, in the temples of Dendera and Thebes, some original proportions and forms which had suggested the Greek orders. The strength and simple grandeur of the Egyptian architecture were already known in Europe, but Mr Bruce hoped to direct the attention of the learned to some of its other qualities, not less curious and remarkable. If in this he was not successful to the extent of his wishes, the disappointment that he felt was relieved by the hopes of more important discoveries in Abyssinia, into which he now had resolved to penetrate, at the expence of every other enjoyment, and at the hazard of his life.

Having sailed from Sidon, June 15, 1768, he arrived soon after at Alexandria. As he had seldom quitted the Arab dress since his shipwreck at Bengazi, he retained it on landing in Egypt, in order to mislead the inquisitive spirit of the populace, who mistook him under this disguise for a Mugrebin, or Barbary Arab.

Egypt, at that time under the Mameluke government, was filled with oppression and injustice. There was no security for life or property. Though the supreme power was then in the hands of the celebrated Ali Bey, who favoured the Christians, he entrusted the management of the revenue to the Copts and Jews,

whose aversion to the Franks counteracted the influence of his unusual partiality. The Bey retained on the throne the prejudices of his original condition. He was, like most Mahometans, an implicit believer in astrology, and therefore had chosen for his minister a Copt, called Maalem Risk, a pretender to that ridiculous science. When Mr Bruce's astronomical instruments were landed at Alexandria, Risk conceived a high opinion of their owner's skill in astrology, and ordered them to be forwarded without paying duty, or being examined at the custom-house.

Mr Bruce and his servants proceeded to Rosetto by land, travelling in the dress of Barbary Arabs, and thence embarked on the Nile for Cairo, where they arrived in the beginning of July. They were received with great kindness and hospitality by the mercantile house of Julian and Bertran, and by other French merchants, to whom Mr Bruce was recommended by his friends in the Levant. When he privately communicated to them his intention of penetrating into Abyssinia, they were struck with astonishment at the rashness of such a design, but offered to assist him in it to the utmost of their power. In order that the government might not be prejudiced against him by insinuations, he gave out that he was going to India, and seldom appeared in public, except in the disguise of a Dervish * who was skilled in magic, and cared for nothing but study.

Soon after his arrival, he was visited by Risk, who questioned him respecting his knowledge of the stars, and introduced him to his master as a physician and astrologer. After a few audiences, he completely gained the confidence and friendship of the Bey by his superior skill in medicine and prophecy †.

* Wandering Mahometan devotee.

† An account of what past at these audiences is given in the Travels, Vol. I. p. 110–113. edit. sec.; and is very amusing.

In the course of his attendance on the Bey, he met with a Coptic priest called Father Christopher, who had been his chaplain and intimate acquaintance at Algiers, and who was now promoted to the dignity of Archimandrite under Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. This priest informed him, that there was a number of Greeks in Abyssinia, many of whom enjoyed the first offices in the state; and that they all had the greatest veneration for the patriarch, who was the head of the Abyssinian church, and honoured by the whole nation *. He introduced his friend to the patriarch, and undertook to procure letters of recommendation to the principal Greeks at Gondar, accompanied with a general bull or pastoral admonition, in which they should be enjoined to renounce their pride and vanity, and to support, with all their influence, the stranger whom the patriarch sent among them. The priest made no delay in accomplishing his promises, and Maalem Risk furnished peremptory letters of recommendation, in the name of his master, to the cashefs of the principal places on the Nile, to Hamam, Shekh † of Upper Egypt, and to the governors of Deir and Ibrim, garrison towns far up the river, on the way to Dongola. The Bey likewise wrote in favour of "Yagoube his physician," to the Sheriffe or Prince of Mecca, the Governor of Masuah, and to the King of Sennaar.

Mr Bruce sailed from Cairo, December 12, 1768, on a voyage up the Nile. Soon after his departure he became acquainted with a Shekh of the Howadat Arabs, by whose friendship he was enabled to visit the country about Metrahenny, and to determine, after Pococke, the site of Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. He thence successively reached Gawa, Achmim, and Dendera,

* The Abyssinian church acknowledges as its superior the Patriarch of Alexandria, who ordains its Abuna or Primate. The Abuna is always an Egyptian, no native in Habbesh being ever raised to the primacy.

† *Shekh* signifies chief of a tribe. The *Cashef* is the governor of a town or district.

the last of which places is well known to possess most magnificent remains of Egyptian architecture. At Furshout he was graciously received by Shekh Hamam, who held the government of the greater part of Upper Egypt, and by his nephew Ishmael at Badjoura, with whom he resided till the 7th of January 1769.

Having resumed his voyage, he arrived at the villages Elgournu and Medinet-Abou, situated on the ground formerly occupied by Thebes, the oldest metropolis of Egypt. He there visited the caves in the adjacent mountain, which were called the tombs of the kings, but seem to have been the common burial-place of the city *. The banditti, who live in these sepulchres, obliged him to cross the Nile at midnight to Luxor, where he was well received by the governor.

Having passed Esne and Edfu, he came to a place called Shekh Ammer, the residence of Nimmer, chief of the Ababde Arabs, who possess the desert on the southern frontier of Egypt. Mr Bruce having asked the protection of Nimmer, who was an old man, in ill health, and much disposed to be grateful for some medicines which the former had sent him from Furshout, the Shekh rose from his couch, and, lifting his emaciated hand, pronounced a curse on any of the tribe who should injure him. He then summoned his people to the tent, and concluded the covenant of friendship between them and his physician.

After having secured the protection of the Ababde Arabs, Mr Bruce visited Syene and the cataract. He then returned down the river Negadé and Badjoura, where he waited the departure of a caravan, partly belonging to Shekh Hamam, and partly to the Ababdé, which was soon to set out for Cosseir, on the Red Sea. Along with it, he left Kenne, Feb. 16. 1769, and proceeded across

* Called Bibân el Molûk. The antient Egyptians placed their dead, when embalmed, in caves; which is alluded to in a very sublime manner by the Prophet Ezekiel, chap. xxxii. v. 18–32. These caves were called in Coptic, Kahi-nmau, "the land of the dead."

the barren desert, which lies between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. This wilderness is part of the chain of mountains which runs the whole length of the Red Sea, and which, except that which divides Barbary from the regions on the Niger, is perhaps the most arid in the world. Mr Bruce, after suffering much inconvenience from the people of the caravan, arrived at Cosseir on the 22d of February, and remained there till the 5th of April, when he sailed for Arabia. During his residence at Cosseir, he made an excursion up the coast of the Red Sea, as far as N. L. 23° 58′, and examined Jibbel Zumrûd, the emerald mine, described by Pliny and other ancient writers.

Being desirous to visit as many parts of the Red Sea as possible, instead of sailing over to Jidda, he directed his course for Tor, a village at the bottom of the gulf, at no great distance from Mount Sinai. In this voyage, as indeed in all others which he performed in the east, he paid great attention to the hydrography of his courses, making plans of the different harbours, and observations for the use of future navigators. He likewise collected a number of marine productions, of various kinds, in which the Red Sea is exceedingly fertile.

From Tor he sailed along the Arabian shore, by Imbo and Rabac, to Jidda, where he landed on the 3d of May. During this voyage he had slept little, being afflicted with slight returns of the ague which he had caught at Bengazi, and from which he suffered exceedingly in Syria. He had long worn the Arab dress, and had sometimes passed for a Barbary Arab at Cairo, Shekh Ammer, and other places in the desert. He now so much resembled a Turkish galiongy, or sailor, that the captain of the port of Jidda was astonished to hear some of his servants say that he was an Englishman.

As soon as Mr Bruce came on shore, his baggage was carried to the custom-house, while he went in his neglected dress to the

English factory established in that town. Jidda is the port in Arabia from which the English East India Company usually disperses its merchandise over the adjoining countries. There was then a number of East India ships in the harbour, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the station, and the enormous extortions of the Sheriffe * of Mecca, sufficient to ruin any species of commerce. Mr Bruce, whose appearance made no impression in his favour, was driven from the gate of the factory by one of his countrymen and relations, who mistook him for a vagrant; but he was received with great kindness and compassion by Captain Thornhill, of the Bengal Merchant. In the mean time, Yousef Cabil, governor of Jidda, having taken the liberty of examining his baggage, was surprised to find in it a number of valuable presents, and letters written by persons of the highest dignity, particularly a firman from the Sublime Porte, a letter to the Khan of Tartary, and several others from Ali Bey, addressed to the Sheriffe of Mecca, to his minister Metical Aga, and to Yousef Cabil himself. The style of these letters alarmed the governor. He came immediately to the factory to inquire about the English nobleman, recommended by the Grand Signior and Ali Bey, and was astonished to find him sitting under a shed in the habit of a Turkish sailor. A good understanding was instantly established with Yousef; the English gentlemen used their whole influence to promote Mr Bruce's designs, and every head was employed in procuring letters of the most effective kind from the Sheriffe of Mecca to the Governor of Masuah, the King of Abyssinia, and his general and prime minister, Michael Suhûl.

The country which Mr Bruce now prepared himself to visit, though nearly bordering on the coast of the Red Sea, has no re-

* The sovereign of the northern part of Arabia, of which Mecca is the capital, is called *Sheriffe* or Noble, as being of the family of Mahomet. The title of the sovereign of the southern Arabia or Yemen, is Imâm, or High Priest of the Faith.

gular communication with the rest of the world. Though the oldest, and indeed the only Christian kingdom in Africa, its inhabitants are sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition. Owing to a violent but unsuccessful attempt of the Portuguese Jesuits, in the seventeenth century, to change the form of religion from that of the Greek church of Alexandria to the Roman Catholic, the very name of *Frank* or European, is generally regarded in Abyssinia, as synonimous with pagan and infidel. Besides this prejudice, which had, hitherto, occasioned in Habbesh the death or banishment of every European, a civil war of the most violent kind, rendered, at this period, that country still less easy of access to foreigners. Three powerful parties the *Kuaranya*, the *Galla*, and the *Tigré*, divided the kingdom into as many factions, of which it is here necessary, for the perspicuity of the ensuing narrative, to give a short account. The Kuaranya, so called from Kuara, a small province in the west of Abyssinia, were the kindred of *Welleta Georgis*, the queen*, who, on the death of King Bacuffa, her husband, in 1729, being chosen guardian to her son Yasous II. confirmed her authority, by raising her own relations to all places of trust and importance. On the death of her son, in 1754, she was nominated guardian to her grandson Joas; but this prince being descended by his mother from the Galla, a barbarous nation which in former times had over-run the kingdom, regardless of the opinion of his Abyssinian subjects, put his relations in possession of his army and provinces. The queen's kindred opposed this dangerous measure unsuccessfully. The Galla, in 1767, murdered Eshté, the principal leader of her party, which was followed by a junction of the Galla with Michael, governor of Tigré, the province of Habbesh, nearest to Arabia, a powerful,

* The kings of Abyssinia marry many wives, whose children are all equally legitimate; but they have only one queen, who is crowned, and called *Iteghé*, and who possesses great authority in the kingdom.

ambitious, and savage warrior, who detested both parties, and secretly aspired at the direction of the whole kingdom. The king and the Galla imprudently conferred on this general the high offices of *Râs* * and *Betûdet*, which constituted him, by the laws of that country, guardian of the whole kingdom, under the king, and commander in chief of the national forces. This promotion occasioned the rebellion of the queen's son-in-law, Mariam Barea, governor of Begemder, a rich province near the capital, who was Michael's inveterate enemy, and who had been superseded in his government, by the king and the Galla. No sooner was the destruction of that nobleman accomplished, than Michael turned his arms against the Galla themselves, drove them from the capital, and having assassinated the king, placed on the throne a man entirely superannuated, grand-uncle of the prince he had murdered. This person, being found incapable of discharging the ordinary duties of government, was secretly destroyed by Michael's order, and his son *Teclahaimănoût*, a youth of fifteen years of age, raised to the sovereignty, under the general's direction and influence. To confirm these violent proceedings, the governor of Tigré attempted to secure an alliance with the old queen, by marrying her daughter, the Princess Esther, widow of Mariam Barea, and by concluding a league with *Powussen* and *Gusho*, governors of the two great provinces of *Begemder* and *Amhâra* †, and both leaders of the queen's party. This alliance was granted by the queen and her relations, merely with the view of joining, at a more convenient time, with the Galla, in order to relieve themselves from their common enemy. Till this should be prac-

* The word *Râs*, signifies "the head"; it is, figuratively, like *Basha* in Turkish, used to designate a General. In Habbesh, the term always means "Commander in Chief." I have used it, occasionally, in this narrative, for the sake of variety. For the meaning of the other term, *vide* Appendix.

† For an account of these provinces, *vide* Appendix, No. XLIV

ticable, the Kuaranya acknowledged the king elected by Michael, and united their forces with his army in a general expedition (Dec. 1768) against the Galla general *Fasil.* This person, hereditary chief of all the Galla nation in Abyssinia, and absolute master of the four southern provinces of *Gojam*, *Damot*, *Maitsha*, and *Agow-midré*, had declared his intention to revenge the murder of the late king, and to drive Michael home to his own district of Tigré. At the moment when Mr Bruce approached the Abyssinian territories, Michael was wasting Fasil's provinces with fire and sword. All subordination was, for a time, at an end throughout the kingdom. The province of Tigré, belonging to Michael himself, was as disorderly as Agow-midré, the seat of war, in which Mr Bruce intended to visit the fountains of the Nile. But the command of the province nearest to Arabia, and of the metropolis, united in the hands of the same person, was a favourable circumstance; and he now endeavoured, by every means, to secure Michael's favour and protection.

Metical Aga, the Sheriffe's minister, was originally an Abyssinian slave. He was well acquainted with Michael, on account of the small distance between Jidda and Tigré, and still more on account of the great connection by trade which subsisted between the two kingdoms. The island of Masuah, and the district of Arkeeko, which form the chief entrance by sea into Abyssinia, had been seized by the Turks in the sixteenth century, and was usually governed by an Aga and garrison of janizaries; but the Naybe *, or Turkish deputy, had at length declared himself independent, and could be forced only by an alliance between the Turks and Abyssinians, to acknowledge the authority of the former. The Naybe, who then ruled at Masuah, was a person of a mean, cruel, and avaricious character, overawed only by the

* *Naïb*, in Arabic, signifies deputy. It is the common title of governors of provinces, under Mahometan princes. The plural is naváb, which our countrymen in India have corrupted into *nabob*.

governor of Tigré. As it was well known that no stranger could escape out of his hands but with the greatest difficulty, Metical Aga, at the instance of the English, wrote in the most urgent terms to Râs Michael, that he was about to send him a Christian physician, who was accustomed to wander over the world in search of herbs and trees beneficial to the health of man; a subject of a great king, sovereign of a powerful people, called the English, settled in India, and much esteemed at Jidda. He added, that he himself, and all the English in Arabia, were interested in the safety of this man, and entreated Michael to save him from the violence of the Naybe of Masuah, and to protect him till he should return to Cairo, by way of Jidda, or of Sennaar. The influence which Ali Bey, and the English, had over Metical Aga, Mr Bruce confirmed by presents; but this precaution did not satisfy Captain Price, of the Lion of Bombay East-India-man, who had taken a particular interest in his welfare, and whose friendship was of greater service to him than that of any other person at Jidda. He solicited Metical Aga to send a confidential servant with letters into Abyssinia, a measure to which Mr Bruce owed the preservation of his life.

As the person whom the Aga designed to send along with Mr Bruce required some time to prepare himself for the journey, the latter seized the opportunity of making an excursion to the southern parts of the Red Sea. He sailed from Jidda July 8, 1769, to the regret of his countrymen, who dreaded a fatal termination of his voyage. The English ships saluted, as a mark of honour due to such useful but hazardous enterprises, his vessel, which left the harbour at the same time with one which carried over to the island of Dahalac, near Masuah, a new governor, appointed by the Basha of Jidda *. That person arrived long before Mr Bruce,

* The Basha of Jidda is appointed by the court of Constantinople, and has authority over Dahalac, Masuah, &c. for the situation of which places see the General Map.

and informed the Naybe, that a great prince, son or brother of a king, to whom all the English at Jidda had paid the highest honours, would soon pass through Masuah on his way to Habbesh. The Naybe therefore called a council, to deliberate whether he and his people should, according to their usual custom, murder this illustrious stranger on landing, or preserve his life, till they should know from his letters by whom he was recommended and protected.

After leaving Jidda, Mr Bruce sailed up the Arabian coast by Confoda, Cape Heli, and Loheia, till he reached the straits of the Indian ocean. He returned partly along the African side of the gulf, and arrived at Loheia on the 6th of August, where he was obliged to wait till the beginning of September for his guide, Mahomet Gibberti. Mahomet at last joined him, with a firman from the Sheriffe to the Naybe of Masuah, and letters to Râs Michael. He also brought a letter for Ahmed, the Naybe's nephew, and one for Mr Bruce from Sidi Ali, keeper of the sacred well of Mecca, whom Mr Bruce had known in Syria. Ali advised the traveller to distrust the Naybe, and to secure the friendship of Ahmed, who had much influence, and was capable of generous actions. This information was valuable, as Ahmed had already defeated the counsels of his uncle, unfavourable to Mr Bruce.

When the council was called at Masuah, in consequence of the governor of Dahalac's intelligence, Ahmed had firmly opposed the Naybe's measure of killing Mr Bruce at landing, as cruel and impolitic. It was improbable, he affirmed, that a person of such consequence would be unprovided with powerful protection; that half the guns which the English had fired in honour of him at Jidda, would, in a few hours, lay Masuah in ruins; and that Râs Michael's vengeance, if the stranger was recommended to him, would not be lenient. These reasons inclined

most of the council to vote with Ahmed, which prevented the execution of a design equally inhuman and extraordinary.

Mr Bruce anchored before Masuah September 19, 1769, after a tedious voyage, in the course of which he had been nearly shipwrecked. He remained on board that night, but Mahomet Gibberti instantly went on shore, and dispatched their letters of greatest importance to Adowa, the capital of Râs Michael's province. Amongst these was a copy of the patriarch's bull, and a letter from Mr Bruce to Janni, a respectable Greek, whom Michael had appointed his deputy-governor. Mahomet then went immediately to the Naybe, in order to prevent suspicion. Having met with Ahmed by the way, he learned from him the counsel which he had given on the occasion mentioned above, and confirmed him in his former opinion. Intelligence of all this was conveyed to Mr Bruce before landing, which enabled him to appear to much advantage next day before Ahmed. That chief, imputing the stranger's knowledge of the Naybe's counsels to supernatural skill, confessed to him his uncle's bad intentions, promised his own friendship, and gave him a house and other accommodations.

The first audience which Mr Bruce had of the Naybe, was sufficiently discouraging. Though he pretended to be the servant of the Turkish emperor, he threw aside the Imperial order with the greatest indifference, and shewed the same disrespect to the letters of Ali Bey, the Porte of Janizaries, and the Sheriffe of Mecca. About three weeks after, he demanded an enormous present, which Mr Bruce refused to give, being exempted from paying tribute in the Grand Signior's dominions. The Naybe endeavoured to frighten him into compliance by threats of imprisonment; but, finding these unsuccessful, he summoned a divan, in which he accused the stranger of several ridiculous offences, such as conversing, for the purpose of bringing diseases upon the

country, with a comet then visible at Masuah. Many of the soldiers supported these accusations, and, had it not been for his own firmness, and the interference of the Sardar* of the Janizaries, Mr Bruce would have been murdered on the spot. He escaped to his house, from which he kept up a correspondence with the Sardar, who informed him that his friend, Ahmed, being sick at Arkeeko, could not attend in council. On the night of that day in which the divan had been assembled, the Naybe sent a party to murder Mr Bruce; but they had not courage to make an attack on him, being terrified for his fire-arms. He found soon after an opportunity of visiting Ahmed, who was in ill health, and in great need of medical assistance. The chief expressed the utmost abhorrence of his uncle's behaviour, and promised to furnish Mr Bruce with necessaries for his journey. No kindness could be more acceptable to the latter than a promise of this nature; but the pleasure arising from it was greatly enhanced by the arrival of three messengers from Abyssinia. One of these was from Janni, bidding Mr Bruce a hearty welcome to the country; the other two wore the dress of the crown-servants, and brought a letter to the Naybe from Râs Michael, requesting him to supply his physician with necessaries, and to forward him without delay †.

The Naybe was now obliged to let his prey escape. His last resource was to alarm Mr Bruce with false accounts of the state of several barbarous nations through which he had to pass in his journey to Tigré. These falsehoods were detected by the Abyssinian messengers, who used great familiarity with the Naybe.

* Captain, or commander.

† The messengers of the Abyssinian king wear a particular dress. The letter from Michael was forged by Janni in order to frighten the Naybe; the servants also were not sent by the king, who at that time was far distant, in Gojam, with Michael, fighting against Fasil.

The charge of supplying the party with necessaries was left to Ahmed, who fulfilled his promise, without any assistance from his uncle.

The caravan set out from Arkeeko, on the 15th of November. At parting, Ahmed told Mr Bruce that his uncle intended to embarrass, or, perhaps, murder him, in the road to Dobarwa, which lies through the Naybe's territories, and is the easiest entrance into Habbesh. He, therefore, advised him to take a different path over a number of rugged mountains, in which the fatigue of the journey would be compensated by safety, as he was master of the country, and knew that his orders would be obeyed. This advice was not neglected: they commenced their journey immediately, according to Ahmed's directions.

Soon after leaving Arkeeko, they began to ascend the stupendous range of mountains which parts Abyssinia from the Red Sea. These Alpine barriers exhibit all the singular appearances which are produced by a vertical sun, and immense heavy rains, which fall on them at certain seasons. With excessive toil and fatigue, increased by carrying their heavy baggage, to which Mr Bruce's astronomical instruments made a large addition, the people of the caravan gained at last the summit of Taranta, one of the steepest mountains in their way, from which they had the pleasure of viewing, on the other side of it, the country of Habbesh.

They arrived soon after at Dixan, a frontier town, part of which belongs to the Naybe, and part to the Abyssinians. The Naybe's guides followed them to a place called Hadadîd, the utmost limit of his territories, where the Abyssinians exerted their authority, and drove them back to their master. The caravan encamped all night on the Abyssinian side of the boundary, in the open fields. It was a memorable station, as being the first where Mr Bruce recovered part of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger since his arrival at Masuah.

SECTION III.

THEY left Hadadîd on the morning of the 26th of November 1769, and, proceeding to the village of Hadawi, were met by the *Baharnagash* *, Michael's deputy, a brave, but simple man, who, though accompanied by the insignia of his office, gave Mr Bruce but an unfavourable opinion of Abyssinian noblemen. They soon became acquainted, and Mr Bruce bought a horse from him, which he afterwards called Mirza, (a name, he says, of good fortune) and which he taught to perform the different paces and movements used by the Arabs and Mamelukes. The Abyssinians are totally ignorant of the excellence which the Moors and Barbary Arabs have attained in managing horses. They were astonished, therefore, at the feats which Mr Bruce performed on horseback, and at the Barbary saddle and bridle, which he had brought along with him. He owed to his skill in horsemanship, a great

* This title signifies "Governor of the Sea-coast." Before the Abyssinians lost the maritime district of Arkeeko, and the port of Masuah, the office of Baharnagash was one of the most important in the kingdom. It is now nearly a nominal one, under the governor of Tigré. The insignia of all Abyssinian governors are a particular dress, attendance of guards, with drums, trumpets, &c.

part of the favour which he afterwards obtained in this barbarous and unhappy country.

On the 1st of December, the caravan reached Kellah, a small town in Tigré, not far from Debra Damo, a mountain which was used as a prison for the princes of the royal family of Abyssinia, when the court resided at Axum *. They were detained there three days by the officers of the revenue, till an order came from Janni of Adowa to allow them to pass. On the 6th, they arrived at that town, the residence of Michael Suhûl, and of his deputy, Janni, a venerable old man, who received Mr Bruce with every demonstration of kindness and affection. He burst into tears on hearing an account of the oppression which they had undergone at Masuah, and strove to compensate for the Naybe's violence by a thousand civilities. Mr Bruce and his servants resided with Janni from the 6th of December 1769, till the 17th of January 1770. The whole country was in suspense respecting the fate of Michael's campaign against the rebels. Nobody, even in his own province, loved this ferocious chieftain. He had spent fifty years of his life in humbling every individual of consequence in Tigré, and his house at Adowa contained no fewer than three hundred persons, all in irons, and most of them kept like wild beasts in cages, for the purpose of extorting money from them. The province of *Woggora*, also between Tigré and the capital, presuming on the defeat of Michael, was nearly in open rebellion, and, therefore, dangerous to pass †.

* All the males of the royal family, with their children, are, in that country, confined on a mountain, where they are maintained at the expense of government. The present state-prison is *Wechné*, about 35 miles east of the lake of Dembea. Axum, now in ruins, was the capital of Tigré, and of old the seat of government.

† *Tigré* was, in former times, divided into about 44 districts, many of which had separate governors. Michael had reduced all these districts into one, by violence and oppression. He was, at this time, about seventy years of age.

Having visited the ruins of the Jesuit's convent at Fremona, Mr Bruce came to Axum, formerly the metropolis of Abyssinia, and long the residence of the kings, who governed the Hamyarite colony, from which the Abyssinians are descended. Axum was built by the Ptolemies, as appears from the obelisks, and other remains of Egyptian architecture, still existing there. Near these ruins, Mr Bruce had an opportunity of seeing the monks perform the Greek ceremony of blessing the waters at the Epiphany. Soon after leaving Axum, he observed a remarkable instance of the barbarism of the modern Abyssinians, a party of soldiers eating pieces of flesh cut from a living cow, which is a singular and frequent practice in that country *.

The caravan advanced through the province of Siré, which borders on Tigré, with much difficulty, and in perpetual fear of being attacked, or detained, by the governors of small districts, and officers of the revenue. After passing the Tacazzé, which is the largest river in Upper Abyssinia†, they entered Woggora, where

* The custom of eating raw flesh seems to have been introduced into Abyssinia from the interior of Africa. Macrizi, an Arabian writer of the thirteenth century, relates (Hist. Reg. Islam. edit. Link, p. 5), that, in the time of Hatzé David II. son of Seif Araad, the Abyssinians ate raw meat (cibum capiunt crudum; and mentions several other disgusting circumstances detailed by Lobo. Alvarez Viag. della Ethiop. fol. 277, says "many eat raw flesh." Lobo, rel. d'Abyssinie, p. 22, relates, that the Galla in the south eat raw flesh, and live on nothing else. Speaking of the Abyssinians, p. 72, he affirms, "that their "greatest treat is a piece of raw beef quite warm. When they give a feast, they kill an ox, "and immediately serve up a quarter of it on the table, with much pepper and salt; and "the gall of the ox serves them for oil and vinegar." The practice of cutting the animal in pieces while alive readily follows; and, accordingly, Abram, an Abyssinian, told Sir W. Jones, (1788) "that the *country people* and *soldiery* make no scruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw flesh of an ox, which they cut, without caring whether he is dead or alive; that this savage diet is, however, by no means general." Vide Asiat. Researches, Vol. i. p 384. Mr Bruce's testimony confirms all these accounts in the fullest manner.

† Abyssinia is, sometimes, in ordinary conversation, divided by the natives, into two parts, *Tigré* and *Amhâra*. The boundary between these general divisions, is the river Tacazzé.

the hardships of the way were increased by the disaffection of the inhabitants, the extortion of the custom-houses, and the ruggedness of the road, which lay over mountains. Mr Bruce was informed in Woggora, that Michael had been successful against Fasil, the rebel general, and that he was then at Ibaba, on the south of the lake of Dembea, on his return to Gondar *. At a place called Kossogué, they first had a view of the metropolis, or rather of the king's palace; for the other houses were hid by the trees which grow in the town, and give it, at a distance, the appearance of a forest. On the 15th of February, they encamped on the Angrab, a small river, which runs by the city.

The principal people to whom Mr Bruce had letters of recommendation, were absent with the army. But he was surprised at receiving no visit nor message from Petros, Janni's brother, who had been instructed to receive him. Petros, frightened at some menacing expressions which the priests had uttered on the subject of bringing Franks into the kingdom, had fled to Ibaba, in order to consult the Râs. On going to Michael's tent, he saw the skin of a Galla, one of his intimate acquaintances, whom the Râs had flayed alive, hanging on a pole before the door. This spectacle bereft him of all inclination for an audience, and he hastened back to Gondar, with orders from Negadé Râs Mahomet †, the officer who has the superintendance of all foreigners in Abyssinia,

The language of Tigré is the Geez or Ethiopic, in which all the Abyssinian books are written. The language of Amhâra is that used at court, and among people of fashion.

* Michael had defeated Fasil, the Galla chief, at a place called Fagitta, in Agow-midré, (Dec. 1769) and driven him into the wildest part of the country. *Ibaba* is next to *Gondar*, the capital, the greatest city in Abyssinia.

† *Negadé Râs*, signifies "head of the strangers." This is the chief officer of the customs, which he levies by his deputies, and accounts for, to the king's servants. The Negadé Râs and his deputies, are generally Mahometans. All people of that religion in the capital, live in a district of the town allotted to themselves. There is a Christian officer in the Abyssinian court called by the same title, who is their superior.

that Mr Bruce should stay in that part of the town allotted to Mahometans, till the Râs should arrive.

Mr Bruce, therefore, took up his residence with Hagi Saleh, brother to the above-mentioned officer. The small-pox, a disease which is so virulent and unskilfully treated in Habbesh, that it is scarcely less formidable than the plague, had attacked the country. The Mahometans were exceedingly thankful for the care which Mr Bruce took of their children, but they were soon deprived of his assistance. Ayto Aylo *, an Abyssinian nobleman of great influence with all the parties which then distracted the kingdom, and a professed patron of foreigners, hearing that a white man had come to Gondar, paid Mr Bruce a visit, and undertook to introduce him at court. Aylo was secretly a Roman Catholic, and detested the priests of his own country; he was besides an admirer of horsemanship, and of those who excelled in it. The court resided at a place called Koscam †, at some distance from the city. In the way to Koscam, Mr Bruce filled Aylo with astonishment, at the feats which he performed with his horse and double barrelled gun. Being prepared, therefore, to give the highest character of the stranger, Aylo introduced him to the Iteghé, or queen dowager, the first person of her sex in Abyssinia, and universally more revered than the king himself. This princess was the widow of Bacuffa, who died in 1729; she had reigned twenty-four years, along with her son, Yasous, and fourteen with her grandson, who was murdered by Michael. Her relations, the Kuaranya, had been exceedingly powerful during the reign of

* *Ayto* is the Abyssinian term signifying *Sir* or Mr. *Ambet* is the word used in addressing a lady. *Ozoro*, is equivalent to prince or princess. Aylo, was of the old queen's party, and her principal counsellor.

† Situated about a mile or more to the north of Gondar. The palace of the old queen stood there, along with a church, built in her reign. She had enjoyed the direction of public affairs for more than 38 years.

her son, but many of them had been killed and disgraced by the succeeding king, and by his kindred the Galla. Michael had subdued both these parties, and changed the order of the succession, by placing first her husband's brother *, and then his nephew †, on the throne. She was, however, much respected by the king, and had considerable influence with Michael, who had married her daughter, the Princess Esther.

The small-pox, from Masuah, had spread over the whole city, and a son of the Râs, newly returned from camp, was dead of that disease. The queen, being in a great anxiety for her grand-children, most of whom were infected, entreated Mr Bruce to reside at Koscam, and to undertake the care of them. He, therefore, removed to her palace, and, by using the European mode of treatment, which is very different from the Abyssinian, had the pleasure of seeing them all recover, and of finding himself completely established in favour at court. During his attendance on the children, he became acquainted with the queen's daughter, Ozoro Esther, at that time wife to the *Râs*, but who had been twice married before, and had children alive by both husbands. Her son, *Ayto* Confu ‡, a promising young man, to whom Mr Bruce had conceived an attachment at first sight, took the small-pox, and recovered very slowly. Mr Bruce was not wanting in attention to Confu. He removed to an apartment leading to his chamber, and waited on him constantly. The princess was equally

* Hannes II. who was permitted to reign only six months.

† Tecla-haimanout II. son of Hannes, a youth of fine abilities, and of an excellent natural disposition. He was very friendly to Mr Bruce, conferred on him many marks of distinction, and was exceedingly unwilling to allow him to leave the country.

‡ The title *Ozŏro* is given to all children of the king, male or female, but particularly to the latter: It signifies *royal* or *noble*. Esther was the old queen's second daughter, by a nobleman called Yasous, whom she had married after the death of the king. Ayto Confu, was Esther's son by her first husband, whose name was Netcho.

careful. She could neither eat nor sleep; but watched him all night in fear and anxiety. As it was not proper for the physician to leave such a nurse without company, a particular friendship commenced between them, which continued till their last interview, and greatly advanced Mr Bruce's interest at court.

During the time of Confu's illness, Esther had secretly procured several peremptory orders from the *Râs*, commanding Mr Bruce not to stir from Koscam. These displeased him, till the cause was explained by Esther herself, who hastened to the camp as soon as Michael came near Gondar, for the purpose of recommending her physician. Mr Bruce saw the king and Michael, for the first time, at Azazo, near Gondar. The appearance of the latter by no means indicated the abilities which he really possessed; and the reception which he gave the king's stranger, and his own, was not very flattering; but his general practice was to do more than he promised. All was in confusion at Gondar, on account of the large army around it; Mr Bruce, therefore, returned to Koscam, till he should receive further orders. The first scene which Michael exhibited after he arrived, was the pulling out the eyes of a number of Galla officers whom he had taken in war, after which he turned them out into the fields, to perish by famine and the wild beasts. Mr Bruce saved the lives of two of them, a circumstance which was of service to him afterwards, when travelling through the Galla country to the sources of the Nile.

For some time after his first audience, Mr Bruce thought himself entirely neglected by Michael and the King; but, about the middle of March, Aylo told him, that Mahomet Gibberti had delivered to the Râs two letters from Metical Aga, in which he explained to Michael Mr Bruce's character, designs, and religion, and requested that he would provide for his safety while he resided in Abyssinia. Michael complained that Metical did not know the state of the country, otherwise he would not have asked safety

for a stranger, while the king himself was daily fighting for his life. " All I can do," said the Râs, " is to keep him with me; " if the king and I perish, he cannot suppose that it was in " my power to defend his stranger."—" You do not know the " man," exclaimed *Ayto* Aylo, who remembered the feats at Koscam, " he is a devil on horseback; he rides and shoots better " than any man who ever came into Abyssinia.—Put him about " the king, and there is no fear of him."

Michael, on this, instantly resolved to make Mr Bruce Palambaras *, or master of the horse, an office of great honour and emolument, sometimes held by foreigners. Mr Bruce, however, declined it, on account of its requiring constant residence at court, which, he alleged, would prevent him from seeing the different parts of the country, particularly the sources of the Abay or Nile, which, above all other places, he was anxious to visit. When Michael understood that he disliked preferment of that description, he gave him a formal audience, and explained to him in a few words, very characteristic of himself, the unsettled state of the country, and the only method by which a stranger in it could hope for safety. He then announced to him that he had appointed him a Baalomaal †, or one of the gentlemen whose office it is to wait on the king, and commander of the Coccob horse, a body of cavalry belonging to the household. After this, Aylo and Tecla-Mariam, the king's secretary, conducted Mr Bruce to the foot of the throne, where he made the prostrations usual in oriental countries on receiving preferment.

* This word, in Abyssinian, is written *Baal-ambel-ras*, and signifies " master of the " saddle;" the person who enjoys the office has the command of the cavalry in the king's army.

† Baalo-maal signifies master of the king's goods. The word Coccob signifies " a star," the figure of which is painted on their furniture.

The various incidents which established Mr Bruce's reputation for courage, abilities, and generosity, after his introduction to the king, though very interesting, are too minute to be enumerated in this place. He gained nearly as much by the discreet and liberal manner in which he treated his enemies, as by the respectful attention which he paid to his friends. He easily excited the admiration of an ignorant court by exhibiting effects of fire-arms well known in Europe, but wonderful to such as have little knowledge of them. Though equally qualified for the field and court, he owed much of the favour bestowed on him by the Abyssinians to his medical character. In order, however, to prevent his being reckoned an indigent physician, he often refused the money which was offered him for his services, and, by asserting that he practised medicine only for his own satisfaction, and through a love of mankind, preserved the dignity of his character as a soldier and a man of rank.

By his situation at court, he had an opportunity of observing the gross debauchery in which the higher classes of people in Abyssinia indulge. All Gondar was one scene of festivity at the marriage of Powussen, governor of Begemder, with a granddaughter of the Râs and the old queen. To celebrate this alliance, which was made for the sake of ensuring Powussen's fidelity to the government, Michael, Ozoro Esther, and the bride's mother *, distributed multitudes of cattle among the populace and army. Drink was given in proportion; and the dissipation which prevailed every where, for some weeks, can neither be described nor imagined. The married women ate raw beef, drank hydromel and spirits, and smoked like the men. Mr Bruce, though dejected, in ill health, and shocked at the grossness of such so-

* Called Ozoro Altash. She was the queen's third and youngest daughter, and widow of Welled Hawaryat, Michael's son.

ciety, was often obliged to be present. He also attended the Râs, whose bodily infirmities were much aggravated by the state of his mind. Fasil, the rebel general, had invaded Agow-midré, a province on the S. W. side of the lake of Dembea, from which Gondar is chiefly supplied with provisions; and daily accounts of the defeat and ruin of the Agows, obliged Michael to think of taking the field against him, though the rainy season was approaching, when all military operations are in a manner suspended *.

Mr Bruce had hopes that Michael's expedition would facilitate his journey to the sources of the Abay or Nile, which lie in Agow-midré; but as the state of his health would not permit him to stay in Gondar till the army marched, he obtained leave from the king to retire to Emfras, a village about 20 miles from the capital, on the eastern side of the lake of Dembea; where he arrived on the 5th of April. Here he enjoyed a relaxation from the excesses of the court, and devoted a considerable part of his time to study.

From Emfras he went occasionally to Gondar, where he obtained more preferment. The northern frontier of Habbesh is a low, warm, and woody country, peopled by Mahometans. These furnish the king with horses, which they purchased in the dominions of Sennaar; and they, besides, pay a considerable tribute, arising from the commerce between the two kingdoms. The principal part of this frontier is called Râs-el-feel, which borders on Atbara †, and is usually governed by a Mahometan

* The rainy season, in Habbesh, begins in May, and continues till about the 8th of September. The rains then generally cease for six weeks, which is a very unhealthy period, and begin again to fall, but more moderately, till about the 8th of November. These are called the *latter* rains.

† *Vide* General Map. The name of Râs-el-feel signifies, in Arabic, "the elephant's head;" an appellation derived from a fancied resemblance between some eminence in the district, and the head of that species of animals, which abounds in these parts.

deputy. Râs-el-feel, with many other possessions in the north of Abyssinia, was the patrimony of Ayto Confu, eldest son of Ozoro Esther. The Râs had confirmed his right; but his Arab deputy Abd-el Jileel having refused to join the army, Confu had resolved to send his lieutenant Ammonios to displace him: that officer, however, having been fixed by Michael in the command of the household cavalry under Mr Bruce, could not execute his master's orders. Mr Bruce had been engaged by Negadé Râs Mahomet to solicit from Confu the place of deputy at Râs-el-feel for one Yasine, who knew the province, and was besides one of his intimate acquaintance. Yasine had sailed with him from Loheia, and been of great service to him, both at sea and in his journey to Gondar. He reflected that this person, who, though a Mahometan, was brave, honest, and friendly, would secure to him the passage to Sennaar through Râs-el-feel. He immediately went to intercede for him; but being told that Confu had resigned the command of the district, and that the king had given it to himself, he went to the palace, and, after making the usual acknowledgments, dispatched Yasine to dispossess the rebellious deputy.

Mr Bruce had now obtained preferment above his wishes. He was one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, a commander of the household cavalry, and governor of a province, offices which, however difficult it may be to obtain in European courts, are often bestowed in Abyssinia on foreigners, if they possess abilities and character. Soon after his last preferment, he suffered from an attack of the ague and fever which had formerly afflicted him in Syria. This obliged him to reside regularly at Emfras till the middle of May, when the king's army took the field on an expedition round the lake of Dembea against Fasil. On the arrival of the troops at Emfras, on their way to Agow-midré, Mr Bruce joined the camp, and was graciously received by the king, Ozoro Esther, and the nobility. As he was not prepared to go with the

army, he promised to follow it with all expedition. The king's forces crossed the Nile at Dara *, for which Mr Bruce and his servants set out two days after. In the way they fortunately met with Ayto Adigo, Shûm or governor of Karooda, a town not far distant, a nobleman attached to the queen's party, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr Bruce, who had lived with him at Koscam and Emfras. Adigo and Mr Bruce were soon after joined by Netcho, a relation of the queen, who, with a few disorderly troops from Kuara, his native province, came to assist the Râs. All three were advancing towards Dara. Mr Bruce had sent his servants forward with his household furniture, and whatever else could be dispatched with them, but had accidentally retained his astronomical instruments, in hopes of procuring stronger mules from Adigo. At a short distance from Dara, a party of horse, commanded by Guebra Medehin and Confu, two profligate young men, relations of the old queen, and sons of her kinsman Basha Eusebius, attacked the servants, and, stripping them naked, carried off every thing which they had. These robbers permitted the servants to escape, being disappointed at not finding their master. Mr Bruce, Adigo, and Netcho were astonished to see them return in that state, and alarmed at the news which they brought of a rebellion having broken out in Begemder and Amhara, two powerful provinces, of which the governors, Gusho and Powussen, were said to have agreed with Fasil to surround the king and his army †. Guebra Medehin and his brother pretended to be the lieutenants of these governors; but Adigo and

* The passage at Dara is not far from the place where the Nile issues from the lake, after having pervaded it in a current which may be discerned at a distance.

† This agreement had been fully concluded, and though it was not performed at that time, the king and Michael were soon after obliged to fly to Michael's own province, and to leave Gondar to the queen and his party. Fasil expected that these chiefs would have joined him earlier than they did.

Netcho concurred in rejecting this assertion as altogether improbable, on account of their abandoned and dissolute character.

In the event of a conspiracy having been formed against the king, it became exceedingly dangerous to follow the army. But, as the truth of the report was uncertain, Mr Bruce determined to proceed; after having sent back to Gondar his astronomical instruments, and such of his servants as were unfit for the journey.

On arriving at Dara, he was kindly received by Negadé Râs Mahomet, who enabled him to visit the celebrated cataract of the Nile at Alata, and gave him an escort to the army *.

They crossed the Nile on the 22d of May, and proceeded through a country wasted with fire and sword, and deluged with rains, the season of which was now commenced, till they reached Derdera, a place on the N. W. side of the lake of Dembea, where Gusho and Powussen had agreed with Fasil to surround the king's army. This conspiracy was revealed to Michael, and, along with other circumstances, occasioned his precipitate return to Gondar. Fasil's spies decoyed the king's troops to pass the Nile at a disadvantageous ford, in which many of the soldiers were lost, though the cavalry, in which Mr Bruce commanded, swam over without any accident.

While Michael and the king marched rapidly on towards Gondar, Fasil appeared in their way; and, after a short skirmish of no importance, made proposals of peace. Though Michael knew the futility of this overture, he was desirous of seeing Fasil assume the form of allegiance, and therefore proclaimed him governor of Agow-midré, Damot, and the adjoining provinces. Fasil sent several persons of consequence in his service to Gondar, a short time after, to receive his investiture from the king. Mr Bruce insinuated himself into the company of these persons, and

* This cataract, often mentioned in the writings of the Portuguese Jesuits, who in the seventeenth century visited Abyssinia, is formed by the Nile falling about forty feet down, over the rocks near Dara.

gained their friendship by presents. He likewise strove to obtain the favour of Fasil, by sending some medicines, which were at that time requisite, to his favourite general Welleta Yasous. For these acts of respect and kindness, the messengers expressed themselves willing to grant a suitable compensation. Mr Bruce, induced by their readiness to oblige him, asked of the king a gift of the village of Geesh, and of the ground which contains the fountains of the Abay, with a promise from Fasil to conduct him to these in safety, and free from expence. The court, ignorant of his enthusiasm, laughed at the trifling nature of this request. The king hastened to pronounce the words of the grant, and to make Fasil's servants confirm it by oath, in the name of their master *.

These transactions were scarcely finished, when Mr Bruce was obliged to take leave of the king in an interview which filled his mind with the deepest regret. It was known at Gondar that the governors of Begemder and Amhara would attack Michael as soon as the rains should have cut off his retreat to his own province. The only means of saving himself and the king lay in escaping to Tigré before the rivers were impassable. The whole army was therefore immediately in motion. The king used every entreaty to persuade Mr Bruce to go with him, which he evaded by urging the ill health in which he then was, the certain disgrace which

* Villages, and even small districts, are usually granted, in Habbesh, to strangers of note for their maintenance. They hold these under the governors of the respective provinces: The king grants, and the governor puts the person in possession of the lands. This custom prevailed in the ancient Persian empire; and is in Abyssinia the ordinary way of providing for those whom the crown thinks proper to maintain or reward. *Geesh*, which was at that time bestowed on Mr Bruce, is an inconsiderable village in the district of Saccala, in the country of the Agows. These were long a fierce and independent nation, whom the Abyssinians found it difficult to conquer; but they are now entirely subdued. The village takes its name from a *peaked hill*, on part of which it is built, the word *Geesh* or *Gûtsh* having that signification in Amharic. About 600 yards distant from the village, are three springs, from which rises the river Abay, universally accounted in Abyssinia the Nile, and unquestionably one of its most considerable branches.

would attend him in his own country, if he did not accomplish the sole end of his journey into Abyssinia, and the probability of his Majesty's speedy return to Gondar. He dwelt on the last of these topics with a confidence so much resembling certainty that the king was greatly moved. He renewed his request with the most pressing anxiety and tenderness; but finding Mr Bruce inflexible, he desisted, and advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the queen, unless Fasil came to Gondar, and in either case to send him word how he was used.

Before the army left the town, the Râs had proposed to burn it; a dreadful counsel, which he said had been given him by his guardian spirit, the archangel Michael. This design was overruled by the other officers; but, subordination being at an end in the city, Mr Bruce fled (June 5th 1770) to Koscam, where Ozoro Esther and her attendants took refuge, as soon as the army marched *.

All the preferment which Mr Bruce had received, fell, at the departure of the king. The old queen was the only protector who remained to him; and he was for several months confined almost within the verge of her palace. Gusho and Powussen, the governors of Amhara and Begemder, came to Gondar soon after Michael had left it. Mr Bruce waited on them, to prevent offence, but received no favours, except the restitution of some articles, taken from his servants by Guebra Medehin. Fasil, enraged at the breach of their former engagement, took no share in their measures; on the contrary, he entered into a negociation with Michael to restore the king, while they were engaged in persuading the queen to depose him, and to raise a person of her own fa-

* Michael was in doubt whether he should ever be able to force his way back to Gondar. His wife, being in danger from her husband's enemies, who were about to enter the town, fled to her mother's palace, which was secure; Gusho and Powussen being of the old queen's party.

mily to the throne. They succeeded in recommending that impolitic measure: One Socinios, a young man of no education, and totally destitute of abilities, was proclaimed king at Gondar, in the beginning of August, with the usual ceremonies *.

This person, besides his incapacity, was addicted to the grossest vices. Mr Bruce remained at Koscam, by the queen's advice, and went very seldom to court, as the person on whom she had bestowed the title of king was a professed enemy of *Franks*, in which disposition he was confirmed by Abba Salama †, the Acab-saat, who held a high ecclesiastical dignity in the Abyssinian church. This priest had formerly been restrained from persecuting Mr Bruce by the authority of Râs Michael, but now recommenced his hostility with a violence disgraceful to his sacred office.

About the 10th of August, an incident happened, which gained Mr Bruce additional praise from all parties. One of the assassins, who had been employed by Michael to murder Joas, the late king, was apprehended, and being brought to Gondar, confessed, at his trial, the circumstances of that atrocious action, which had never been made public. The body of Joas was dug up from the pit into which the assassins had thrown it, and exposed to the view of the people; but so deeply had the fear of Michael's resentment impressed every breast, that no person ventured to shew it the least respect. Mr Bruce, having heard of this, went secretly from Koscam, and put the body in a state of preparation for interment,

* The queen's party had now driven Michael, and the king whom he had made, from Gondar. They solicited her to raise one of her own family to the throne, which they pretended had been usurped since the murder of her grandson. The Galla party under Fasil knew that they were hated by her and her faction, and therefore could have no power under them.

† Abba Salama was appointed Acab Saat (for an account of which dignity see Appendix, No. XLIV. p. 11.) on the 1st of Hedar A. M. 7261, or October 28, 1768, in place of Benaias. For his character, see Travels Vol. IV. p. 389: He was hypocritical, bigotted, and profligate in the extreme.

which afterwards took place in a very private manner. This attention shown to a king, deserted by all his servants, procured Mr Bruce the esteem of the whole court. When an account of it was brought into Tigré, even Michael himself seemed to approve of his behaviour. Tecla-haimanout, the young king, said many kind things on this occasion, perhaps anticipating the day when another ill-fated possessor of the throne of Abyssinia should need the accidental compassion of a stranger.

About the beginning of October, the return of Michael and the king began to be generally considered as certain*. One of the messengers from Tigré brought special orders to Mr Bruce to join the army on its passage over the Tacazzé. He willingly promised to obey; but, in the mean time, resolved to hazard a journey to the sources of the Nile, which he had hopes of accomplishing before the king's approach. The queen remonstrated strongly against this resolution; but, as she did not absolutely prohibit him from pursuing it, he made himself ready to leave Gondar on the 27th of October. Confirmation of Michael's return arrived that very day, with dreadful threats of vengeance against the court, and those concerned in supporting Socinios.

Next morning (Oct. 28. 1770), Mr Bruce set out on a romantic and dangerous excursion to Saccala, accompanied only by a few servants, and under no protection. His friend Ayto Aylo gave him a guide, with some recommendations to a few persons of his acquaintance on the road. Guebra Ehud, Aylo's brother, was in Fasil's camp, who was then said to be marching for Gondar; and Mr Bruce expected to meet with that chieftain and his army in a few days. Such an army was not a welcome appearance to

* Michael had, notwithstanding the opposition of Gusho and Powussen, secured a retreat to his own province, where he had recruited his army, and received assurance from Fasil that he would not oppose his return to Gondar. Michael therefore set out for the capital as soon as the rainy season drew to an end.

a friendless stranger. It was chiefly composed of Galla, one of the most savage nations on earth, of which Fasil had brought many hordes, wilder than those that inhabited his own country, over the Nile, and these he was now preparing to dismiss, as he could not govern them, in the vicinity of Gondar *.

Mr Bruce's company, after leaving the city, proceeded on their way to the S. W. till they reached the lake of Tzana. As they kept a minute journal of their daily progress, and of the bearing of places by compass, perhaps no journey of the kind was ever performed with greater attention. They fell in with the van of Fasil's army on the 30th of October, at a place called Bamba; and, on arriving at the camp in the evening, were admitted into his tent. The reception which he gave Mr Bruce was, suitable to his character, in the highest degree rude and indecent. He affected to know little of Geesh or Saccala, which, he pretended, lay at a great distance among the wild Galla. On being informed to the contrary, he entered into a long detail of frivolous excuses, accompanied with such degrading reflections on the character of white men, that Mr Bruce, after having reproached him with disrespect for the king's orders, and brutal inhospitality to strangers, lost his temper, and hurried abruptly out of the tent. About midnight, a relation of Râs Michael, who was a prisoner in the camp, came to inform him, that Fasil was giving orders about escorting him to Geesh. These good news relieved his spirits; he could not sleep, on account of the agitation excited by a mixture of joy and fear, but went early next morning to Fasil's tent, where, after some disgraceful treatment from the servants, he gained admittance. Finding Fasil better disposed to serve him, he gave him a valuable present, and received from his hands the investiture of

* Fasil was approaching Gondar with a view to frighten the old queen's party and their king; and to promote the return of Tecla-haimanout.

Geesh in the usual way; after which this barbarian assembled his Galla chiefs, and, having addressed them in their own language, administered the oath of brotherhood to them and Yagoube. He then gave Mr Bruce a guide, called Shalaka * Woldo, a person of authority in that country, and a horse, which he desired him not to mount, but to drive before him till he came to Saccala.

Having taken leave of Fasil, they proceeded on their journey. Shalaka Woldo followed with the horse, to which the wild Galla paid more respect than to himself. This man was by birth an Agow, of a sly designing character, a perfect master of the deepest dissimulation, and such a singular compound of rage, oddity, and artifice, that he proved a troublesome guide, but a diverting companion. On arriving at the Kelti, a considerable river, which falls into the Nile, on the western side, they met with a detachment of Fasil's Galla, commanded by a celebrated chief called the Jumper, whom Woldo described as the greatest thief and robber in all Maitsha †. They learned from him, that they would fall in with a party of 200 men, at a place called Roo, under the command of his brother, who had orders from Fasil to protect them. Their guardian was considered by his countrymen as a prodigy of mildness, and emphatically called the Lamb, because he *sometimes* spared the lives of his prisoners, especially of pregnant women, contrary to the established custom of the Galla. He was dispatched at this time on an affair of the utmost importance. Fasil had received information that Abba Salama, the priest already mentioned, had prevailed on the governor of Kuara, a neighbouring province, and on Woodaje Asahel, chief of the Galla belonging to Joas, the late king, to send, each, a party into Maitsha, for the purpose of murdering Mr Bruce. The Lamb was entrusted with the charge of defeating both these parties, which he did, without

* Shalaka signifies captain of a thousand men.

† A low district on the S. W. side of the lake of Dembea, inhabited by Galla.

alarm or disturbance to the travellers, in a manner deserving the highest commendation.

On the 2d of November they met the Lamb and his party, who paid their respects to Fasil's horse, without attending to the company. He told Woldo that he was looking for some Agow horsemen who were in that quarter, and who probably intended to do mischief; but that he was disappointed at not finding them, as it deprived him of an opportunity of shewing Mr Bruce with what dexterity he should have cut them all to pieces.

They next entered the wild but beautiful countries of Aroosi and Goutta *. On arriving at the Nile, a ludicrous scene took place between Woldo and the Agows. These miserable people, who are oppressed by the Galla, have a religious veneration for the river. As they made objections to the liberties which Mr Bruce and his company took with the stream of their watery deity, Woldo, with much solemn buffoonery, made them carry over the baggage of the whole party for nothing, and, besides, obliged them to pay him a considerable sum in private, which he roundly affirmed that they had stolen from him. Mr Bruce was not much pleased on discovering the selfish character of his guide, whom he endeavoured, with little success, to gain by promises of a reward, and to awe by the fear of responsibility. As he foresaw that Woldo would treat the Agows of Geesh in the same manner with those of Goutta, he disclosed to him his intention of remitting the tribute due to himself, as proprietor of the villages, and of paying for every thing with which they should supply him.

They continued their journey, southwards, the two following days. The ground rose insensibly as they advanced, till they reached the church of St Michael, situated on a small hill in the

* For the relative situation of these places, see the plan of Mr Bruce's journey, at the end of this volume. They are beautifully described in the Travels, Vol. V. p. 233, et passim.

district called Saccala, where Mr Bruce observed that the Nile was dwindled into a scanty brook. The reverie excited by this uncommon object, a sight of which had not been granted to the proudest monarchs of antiquity, was interrupted by his servants, who came to tell him that they had lost their guide. They found that singular character at a distance behind them, complaining of indisposition, and apparently unable to walk; but Mr Bruce detected this, and several other artifices obliquely employed by him, with a view to obtain a present, which was given as soon as mentioned. Being therefore satisfied, Woldo pointed with his finger to the marsh which contains the springs of the Nile, and retired into the village of Geesh, leaving his master to indulge his enthusiasm.

Mr Bruce ran down to the grassy spot, where he observed two or three fountains of different sizes, some of which were inclosed within a mound of sod, the work of the Agows, who have long worshipped the river, and still continue to pay adoration to it at these sources. The joy which he felt on contemplating an object unknown to the ancients, and which, as he conceived, had been hitherto seen by no European, was great, but momentary and transient. The dangers and sufferings which he had already undergone, and those which probably might terminate, in the most fatal manner, this romantic journey, presented themselves to his imagination, and quite overwhelmed him with despondency and sorrow.

From this insupportable state of mind he sought relief in the ludicrous conversation of Strates, a Greek, who had followed him from Gondar. The original character of this person, which displayed itself in a variety of conversations and actions bordering on buffoonery, had amused him on many occasions, and now contributed to enliven a scene, scarcely susceptible of diversion or cheerfulness. While Mr Bruce was offering up libations* at these sacred

* Strates could not comprehend why his master drank the healths of his absent friends, and even that of his sovereign, in no stronger liquid than water; and, above all, that he

springs in honour of his friends, Woldo secured him a good reception among the Agows, by publishing the liberal intentions of their new governor. Kefla Abay, a venerable old man, who superintended the village of Geesh under Fasil, and who was the lineal descendant of those priests, who, in the times of paganism, had officiated in the worship of the river, readily offered his services, and parted with his own house for Mr Bruce's accommodation. The other Agows were not less obliging. Cattle and provisions of all kinds used in that country, were sent by Fasil's servants; so that Mr Bruce was able to make the five days of his residence at Geesh a continual festival.

On the following days Mr Bruce made all the observations respecting these places, which their novelty and appearance suggested. He was furnished with many interesting particulars concerning the religion and history of the Agows by Kefla Abay, who, contrary to the rules of the Christian faith, which his nation has been compelled to profess, practised, along with his countrymen, most of the religious ceremonies of their pagan ancestors.

After the kindness which the Agows had received from their new master, it cannot be supposed that they viewed his departure with indifference. He left Geesh on the 19th November, and returned by the same route, till he came to the house of Welled Amlac, a friend of Ayto Aylo, to whom he was recommended by Aylo and Fasil. Welled Amlac was a Galla, and lived in the style of that barbarous nation. He received the strangers with rude hospitality, which was improved by the kindness of his mother and sisters, and of Fasil's wife, a Galla lady, residing in his family. Mr Bruce and his servants were there obliged to overcome their European dislike to raw meat, and solicited to comply with

should insist on his doing the same, which was most unreasonable, considering the well-known aversion which he had to that feeble species of drink.

another Galla custom, not less singular, but more exceptionable in point of morality *.

Welled Amlac having attended his friends to the passage of the Nile at Delakus, gave them a guide, who conducted them to Gondar. Mr Bruce sent his servants into the city, but went himself by a private route to Koscam, where he found Ozoro Esther, and his other friends at court. The king's arrival being daily expected, the old queen and the usurper Socinios were in terror at the thoughts of Michael's vengeance. Mr Bruce learned there, from Ayto Confu, that Abba Salama had sent two parties to murder him in Maitsha. The influence of that priest over the usurper then on the throne, made the queen forbid Mr Bruce to go to court, unless he received a particular message from Socinios. He had not resided long at Koscam till a message of that description arrived. The usurper and his companions issued one night from the palace, in a fit of intoxication, to plunder the houses of several persons whom they disliked. Amongst these was that of Mr Bruce, whose servant the king was said to have killed with his own hand, while his people destroyed or carried away every thing of value which could be found. They were disappointed in their intention of murdering Mr Bruce himself, who fortunately was at Koscam; but the usurper sent for him, and, after loading him with every species of abusive language, ordered him, on pain of death, to give up the horse which he had received from Fasil in his journey to Geesh. But events of a different nature soon delivered him from this tyranny: Fasil having advanced within a few miles of Gondar, proclaimed Teclahaimanout king, and Michael Râs; the usurper's counsellors joined his enemies; and the old queen fled from Koscam to her relations in Gojam. Socinios having followed her without her consent, was

* That of establishing kindred by sleeping with a female relation.

immediately stripped of his ensigns of royalty, and abandoned to his fate *.

Mr Bruce set out from Gondar to meet the king at Mariam Ohha, a place on his way to the capital. By the contrivance of Ayto Confu †, who was then marching to join the army, Yasine and a detachment of cavalry stopped him on the road, and proclaimed him governor of Râs-el-feel, lord of Geesh, commander of the Coccob horse, and Baalomaal. On his arrival at the camp, both the king and the Râs received him graciously; the king, calling him the arch rebel who would not accompany him to Tigré, offered him his hand to kiss, with many marks of condescension and favour.

On entering the city, (Dec. 24, 1770) Michael and the king began to inflict that unrelenting vengeance on their enemies, which was so congenial to the mind of the former, and so much dreaded by every inhabitant of Gondar. Innumerable executions took place daily for many weeks after their arrival. Abba Salama the Acab Saat, Mr Bruce's enemy, and hundreds besides, were hanged in the public square, and their bodies left unburied, to be eaten by the dogs and the hyenas. Blood was spilt like water till the middle of the following month. The courts were filled with carcases, which the natives neither wished nor dared to remove.

* In Mr Bruce's MS. journal, the following particulars are mentioned concerning Socinios: "Wednesday, 19th December, the queen came to Koscam. While the king was galloping his horse around her, she said to some of her attendants, 'It is for a boy like that, that I have brought my life and all of you into danger.' The king called for bread and aquavitæ, though it was the time of Lent, and galloping around the queen, said, "What God intends to do with me I know not, but what men intend to do, I am very well informed, here in Gondar."

† Ozoro Esther's son, and Mr Bruce's favorite. The party pretended at first to be enemies; and the whole was a frolic executed by Confu for his own amusement: He was then scarcely 14 years of age. The titles were those of the offices Mr Bruce had held, which he now recovered by the return of the king.

Mr Bruce sickened at this horrible sight, and complained of it to the young king, who treated the matter with absolute indifference *.

Mr Bruce now repented exceedingly that he had ever entered this miserable and savage country. He shut himself up at home, and revolved in his mind every method of escaping from Abyssinia by the way of Sennaar. He had already taken some steps for that purpose without the king's knowledge. Mahomet Gibberti had carried a letter from him to Metical Aga, in which he requested that minister to write in his favour to the court of Sennaar. The Abyssinian army, at this time, needed a supply of horses, to procure which Yasine was dispatched to Râs-el-feel. Mr Bruce prevailed on the king, after much altercation and dispute, to allow him to send letters, by this officer, to Sennaar, in order to prepare the way for his return to Egypt. Before the king would consent to his departure, he obliged him to promise, that he would not leave him till the end of the war with the rebels; and to swear, that he would return as soon as possible into Abyssinia, with a body of his relations and friends, armed in the English manner. This oath, which it was impossible to fulfil, and from which Mr Bruce was relieved by the subsequent death of the king, was the only substitution which that prince would accept for the breach of an ancient national maxim, " Never to allow a stranger " to leave the kingdom †."

* The custom of executing malefactors near the palace, and of leaving their bodies unburied *in terrorem*, is common over all Africa. It is more practised in Abyssinia than among the Mahometans. The heads and limbs of enemies are usually brought from a distance, and exposed on the daroo tree, in the public square before the king's gate.

† It was reported at Sennaar, when Mr Bruce was there, that the king had been deposed and murdered. An Abyssinian told Sir William Jones, in India, about the year 1788, that Tilca Mahout (undoubtedly Teclahaimanout) was the late king, and that Tilca Jerjis, (Tecla Georgis) his brother, was the present. For an account of Georgis, who is perhaps the reigning king at this day, see Travels, *Vol.* V. *pp.* 76. 120. and passim. Michael,

The king and Râs took the field in the beginning of May 1771, being forced to march out against the rebels, who assembled from all quarters. Mr Bruce attended them, in his station of commander of the household cavalry, which was, however, led on by his deputy Ammonios. He was also engaged in directing his deputy in Râs-el-feel, Yasine, who having returned from that province with a party of horse to join the army, greatly disheartened him with bad news from Sennaar. Though Fedaile, Shekh of Atbara, governor of part of the country between Râs-el-feel and Sennaar, had treacherously assured Yasine that a traveller might pass in absolute safety through Atbara, Mr Bruce's servant, whom he had privately sent to procure separate intelligence, informed him, that Atbara was infested by the Arabs; and a letter from Hagi Belal, correspondent of Ibrahim Seraff, broker to the English at Jidda, affirmed that Sennaar was in great confusion, owing to the dissension between the king and his two ministers, Adelan and Abdel Calec.

On the 19th of May 1771, the armies of the king and rebels * came to a general action at Serbraxos, a place about 20 miles south from Gondar, which the prophets, a species of men very common in Abyssinia, had declared to be ominous to the king and Râs. The engagement was long, bloody, and indecisive. The victory was supposed to be on the king's side, but the loss of a number of

besides the king, had brought down from Wechné one of his brothers called Georgis, a boy of thirteen years of age, whom Mr Bruce was at great pains to instruct in horsemanship and in the use of fire-arms.

* The old queen's party was now fully united. Gusho, governor of Amhara, Powussen of Begemder, Aylo her grandson, governor of Gojam, (not the same with him who first received Mr Bruce) Woodage Asahel, chief of the Edjow Galla, and several others, had joined their forces together, and were fully determined to cut off Michael's retreat to his own province. Fasil alone promised to support him, but, though he hated the queen's party, he wished the fall of the governor of Tigré, which was soon effected by the confederates.

men and officers made this battle ruinous to his affairs. Mr Bruce had a share in the dangers of the day; and, when the officers were rewarded, on their return to camp, he received from the king a massy gold chain, and a splendid suit of clothes, according to an ancient custom prevailing in that country.

The rebel army still increased, and blockaded the camp at Serbraxos, till the king's forces were reduced to extremity by famine. On the 25th of May, Gusho of Amhara sent a message to the king, requesting him to permit Mr Bruce to visit his family, some of whom were ill of a fever. Gusho, having obtained this request, received Mr Bruce at his tent, and communicated to him a variety of particulars respecting the fate of the war, and the means of procuring safety in case of a total defeat. He informed him, that the royalists would disperse in a short time; and that his only resources were to keep close to the king, or to pass over to the confederate army. Gusho also told him, that there was in his camp a servant of Metical Aga, who had come from Jidda, at the request of the English, to inquire after his welfare. A rumour had prevailed there that Mr Bruce had been murdered; and this person was sent, by the direction of Mr Price, to discover the truth or falsehood of the report; and to relieve him from any pecuniary distresses, if he still survived.

The ruin of Michael was now inevitable. His enemies allowed him to decamp by night from Serbraxos, and to enter Gondar. As soon as the decampment began, subordination entirely ceased in the royal army. Mr Bruce, foreseeing that the king's fate was decided, called Yasine, his deputy governor of Râs-el-feel, and told him, that, as Ayto Confu* was a prisoner, and he himself

* Ayto Confu, who was superior of Tcherkin, Râs-el-feel, &c. had been wounded early in the campaign, and afterwards taken prisoner in Gondar, by a party who had entered the town, whither he had been carried by Mr Bruce.

obliged to attend the king, and, as the event of that night's march was uncertain, he did not think that Yasine could do any further service by staying with the army. He therefore advised him to march with his cavalry through Dembea, to his own province, in which he enjoined him to maintain good government, and to lose no opportunities of sending him information concerning the state of Sennaar. Yasine, with tears in his eyes, protested against leaving him to the accidents of that night, and declared, that there was not a man under him who would not die rather than abandon his master to the perfidy of the Christians. He therefore proposed that Mr Bruce should put himself at the head of the Râs-el-feel cavalry, and escape from Abyssinia. With this advice Mr Bruce could not comply, on account of his engagements, and of the want of his papers, which were all in Gondar.

Mr Bruce, after setting out, strove to keep by the King; but this he found impracticable. They arrived at Gondar about midnight. The Râs went to his house, and Mr Bruce followed the king into the palace, where all was desertion and solitude. On the three following days, the rebels invested the town, and obliged the king and Michael's army to surrender their arms. The Râs became a prisoner in his own house; and the rebels distributed the great offices of the realm among themselves, without taking any notice of their sovereign *. The household servants

* "Wed. 24. Râs Michael having dressed himself as richly as possible in gold stuff, and having put his house in the best order, expected death with much composure. Gusho only was admitted that day, and questioned him about the king's murder, which he denied. On Thursday 25. Nebrit Tecla and his son, Shalaka Becro and his son Hannes, who was Wechne Azaje, were put to death at Dippabye. Their heads were all fixed on the tree, and * * * At three in the evening that day, Wundy Wusen carried the Râs prisoner to the camp, after having plundered his house, and stripped him naked, leaving only a common cloth about him. All this was done without consent of the king, who remained in his house under guard of Kasmati Ayabdor, uncertain what was to be done with him." This account, from Mr Bruce's journal, is much more circumstantial than the printed narra-

had left the palace, where the king remained in poverty and dejection, attended only by Mr Bruce and one or two domestics.

After the fall of Michael, the leaders, having got possession of the king's person, took the oath of allegiance to him, and obtained his authority to their proceedings. The old queen returned to Koscam, and gave Mr Bruce a house *, where he chiefly resided till his departure from Abyssinia. Ozoro Esther, Michael's wife, and her son Confu, were the only friends who remained to him. He seldom went to court, and then waited only on the king. His health declined exceedingly all the rainy season of 1771; and this, more than any other circumstance, induced the king to allow him to return home, and even to write in his favour to the king of Sennaar. The affairs of Abyssinia seemed verging to a revolution, from which Mr Bruce was desirous to escape. He therefore kissed the ground for the last time before his unfortunate benefactor, for whose welfare he had a sincere regard, and hastened to Koscam, where he took formal leave of his other friends.

He set out from Koscam on the 26th of December 1771, attended by three Greeks, one of whom had been his servant since his departure from Cairo, and another, called Georgis, was infirm

tive, and shews the very dangerous situation of the king, and of Mr Bruce, who attended him. The queen's partisans had it now in their power to depose and murder the king, which they probably would have done, had not the fear of Fasil and the Galla in some measure restrained them.

* "On the first of June the queen gave me a house at Koscam, which I accepted very willingly." MS. Journal, in the common-place book, No. 5. The weather journal for August, September, and October 1771, is written with a very feeble and careless hand, on account of the author's ill health. Opposite the 13th day of August is this notice, "I was ill and confined to my bed since the 7th of this month." The unsettled state of the country is alluded to at the date of Oct. 2. 1771. "The instruments all dismounted for fear of the Galla." Folio MS. Journal. It was apprehended that Fasil might break into Gondar, and plunder it and the adjacent territory. A struggle between the Galla and the queen's party seemed to be fast approaching, but it had not commenced when Mr Bruce left the country. Nothing is known in Europe respecting Habbesh since his departure.

and nearly blind. The rest of his party consisted of an old Turkish janizary, who had come to Habbesh in the escort of the Abuna, a Copt who left him at Sennaar, and a few common servants who took charge of the mules. He arrived, on the 2d of January 1772, at Tcherkin, a place on the frontiers of Abyssinia, belonging to Ayto Confu, son of Ozoro Esther, where he was astonished to find Ayto Confu himself, Ozoro Esther, Tecla Mariam, and a number of the ladies who adorned the court of Koscam. This meeting was no less agreeable than unexpected. It was not known what the confederates had done with Râs Michael; but the king had given some villages in that part of the country to the old queen, and a few others, in a private manner, to Ozoro Esther. Her son had brought her from Koscam, by a different road from that which Mr Bruce had travelled, to take possession of this estate. All therefore, was joy and festivity. Mr Bruce was received with rapture by his friends; and Confu gratified him with a species of diversion with which he was as yet unacquainted, the hunting of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo.

About the middle of January, Yasine sent camels from Ras-el-feel, to convey Mr Bruce's baggage to that place, and he was now obliged to take a last farewell of Abyssinia, and of those friends who had often contributed to his safety and happiness. After a week's journey, he arrived at Horcacamoot, Yasine's principal village, where the Shekh received his former master with his usual kindness and fidelity. He resided nearly two months with Yasine, in a bad state of health, partly owing to former indisposition, and partly to the climate of Ras-el-feel, one of the most unhealthy in the world. It is indeed probable, that his life must have terminated there, had it not been for the use of a medicinal plant, which was pointed out to him by an Arab. His next stage in the way to Sennaar, was Teawa, the residence of Fedaile, Shekh of Atbara, who had promised to forward him on his journey with safety and

expedition. Mr Bruce had already written to Metical Aga, at Mecca, to send a letter to some confidential person at Sennaar, for the purpose of procuring a guide from the king; the same request had been made by Yasine, and it was expected that the king of Sennaar's servant would be at Teawa before Mr Bruce arrived at that place. But, as the Shekh of Atbara was well known to be a man of the worst character, Yasine, and the Shekh of the Nile Arabs, agreed to send a person to Teawa with Mr Bruce, who should stay without the town till he had learned the issue of Fedaile's promises.

Mr Bruce left Ras-el-feel on the 17th of March, and came to Teawa on the 23d. Fedaile received him with affected honour, though, as appeared afterwards, with the basest intentions. He had told the Shekh of Beyla, the next stage on the way to Sennaar, that Yagoube had taken a different route, and was not to be expected at Teawa. The Shekh of Beyla, therefore, desisted from inquiring further about Mr Bruce, whom Fedaile detained under a pretence of not having camels for his journey; and, at last, by an absolute refusal to allow him to pass, without paying him a considerable sum of money. This being refused, Fedaile sent a person to murder him. The attempt was unsuccessful, but not more cowardly than that of the Shekh himself, who drew his sword on the stranger, and was only prevented from killing him by the appearance of a large pistol which Mr Bruce drew from beneath his cloak. After having been detained above three weeks by this assassin, the traveller and his party were relieved from their dangerous situation by the Shekh of Beyla, who had detected Fedaile's falsehood, and procured for them guides from Sennaar. The Shekh of Beyla sent a Moullah, a person of great reputation, to Teawa to urge their departure. In his presence Fedaile was convicted of his guilty and faithless conduct, and fright-

ened with an account of the correspondence which Mr Bruce had kept up with Yasine. That chief, having broken the peace between Habbesh and Sennaar, had threatened to burn Teawa, in revenge for the Shekh's behaviour to his master. The terrors arising from an eclipse of the moon, which Mr Bruce had predicted, hastened also the preparations for their journey, which they resumed on the 18th of April.

Mr Bruce was received in a most friendly manner by Mahomet, Shekh of Beyla, to whom he had formerly sent medicines, and who, in every respect, was the reverse in character of the Shekh of Atbara. Having staid a few days at that place, he prosecuted his journey, and advanced, with much difficulty, over the rugged ground near the rivers Rahad and Dender. He had two guides, one of whom was the king of Sennaar's servant, in league with Fedaile, and therefore deserving no confidence: the other belonged to Shekh Adelan, the prime minister of Sennaar, who at that time had the king entirely in his power. After passing the Dender, they were overtaken by a storm, and obliged to lodge all night (April 24, 1772), in a village of Pagan Negroes*, whom the government of Sennaar had brought from the mountains near the White River, and placed in that district to oppose the Arabs. These negroes, though soldiers, received Mr Bruce and his weary companions with great kindness, dried their clothes, and supplied them with huts and provisions. Some of the Nuba watched their camels and baggage all night, and sung alternate songs, in notes of very pleasant melody. Mr Bruce listened to these till he fell asleep involuntarily, and with regret, having seldom passed a more comfortable night on a journey†.

* Called Nuba.

† The African blacks have a very sweet native music, of which the Abyssinians and Arabs, particularly the former, are destitute.

On arriving at Basboch, the place where it is usual to pass the Nile, in coming from Atbara to Sennaar, Mr Bruce was detained, till leave to enter the town was procured from Adelan the prime minister. Adelan was encamped at some distance from Sennaar, but he had received complete information of the behaviour of the Shekh of Atbara, and had resolved to treat Mr Bruce in a manner very different from that which he knew would be agreeable to the king. He therefore ordered his servants to accommodate the stranger with one of his own houses, and desired him to repose himself, before he sought an audience at the palace. Mr Bruce was, however, sent for by the king next day after his arrival, and formally introduced to him. Ismael he found to be a weak, malicious, and ignorant prince, on bad terms with his ministers, who despised his character, and kept him without money or forces. On the 8th of May he went to Adelan's camp, some miles out of the city, where he had a favourable audience of the real sovereign of Sennaar, the king being only such in title. The Shekh was advanced in years, of a noble and commanding appearance, and of a generous and open character. Mr Bruce, having given him a small present, and his letters of recommendation from Ali Bey, the Sheriffe of Mecca, and the king of Abyssinia, claimed his protection, which he granted with great readiness. Adelan spoke contemptuously of the king, and advised Mr Bruce to defend himself, if any attack were made on him at Sennaar, requesting him also to convey immediate intelligence of his situation to the camp.

On returning to the town, Mr Bruce received a visit from Hagi Belal, a merchant to whom he had been recommended by Ibrahim, broker to the English at Jidda. He expected to obtain from Belal whatever money he should need at Sennaar, and in his journey to Egypt; but that perfidious man not only refused to give him any assistance, but conspired with the king to murder him. The reception which he met with in his visits at the palace, became

every day more cold and suspicious. The king pretended that he was unable to forward him on his journey; and access could not be readily had to the minister, who was encamped at a distance, and frequently changing his place. In this dangerous situation Mr Bruce gained, by his medical assistance, the friendship of Ahmed, governor of the household*, and a relation of the royal family, a person whose office it was, by the constitution of that barbarous monarchy, to murder his sovereign, when the welfare of the state required it. The violence of the king was restrained by this man, though Ismael adopted various methods in secret to accomplish his designs. He instigated his servants to insult Mr Bruce; and, towards the end of his stay at Sennaar, dispatched a party to attack him in Adelan's house, which they had not courage to carry into effect.

As his situation became daily more precarious, Mr Bruce, after a delay of four months, redoubled every effort to escape from this country of perfidy and bloodshed. Hagi Belal, overawed by Ahmed, furnished him with some money; but the scanty supplies that he had hitherto received, had not been sufficient to defray his expences, to discharge which, he was obliged to part with the honorary gold chain given him by the king of Abyssinia. Camels and provisions being at last procured, he and his companions stole out of Sennaar, on pretence of going to Adelan's camp. Instead of visiting the minister, they directed their course northward, in the way of Herbagi, the residence of Wed Ageeb, hereditary sovereign of the Arabs, in the dominions of Sennaar, from whom they expected to receive a passport through the rest of Atbara. They reached Herbagi on the 16th of September. Wed Ageeb received Mr Bruce with kindness, and gave him a letter to his sister, who, along with her son, governed the country around Chendi, a town

* Sid el Coom.

situated on the banks of the Nile, in the lower part of Nubia. This prince was a friend of Shekh Adelan, and therefore spoke disrespectfully of the king of Sennaar. He informed Mr Bruce, that Yasine had burnt Teawa, and obliged Fedaile to fly from Atbara, the causes of which hostility were well known to the traveller, though he chose to conceal them.

On the fourth day after they had left Herbagi, Mr Bruce's company arrived at the ferry over the Nile, or Bahar Azergue *, which lies opposite to a place called Halifoon. In the evening of the same day, they reached Halfaia, a considerable town, situated in N. L. 15° 45′ very near the limit of the tropical rains, and about nine miles north of the junction of the Bahar el Azergue and Bahar el Abiad. These are the principal rivers which form the Egyptian Nile, though each of them receives in its course many considerable streams. They left Halfaia, after a residence of six days, on the 29th of September; and on the 4th of the following month came to Chendi, the chief town of the Jahaleen Arabs †, governed by Wed Ageeb's sister. The queen of Chendi accommodated Mr Bruce with necessaries, and took a particular interest in his friendless situation. Chendi, though more than sixty miles to the south of Gooz, where the Tacazzé joins the Nile, is situated on the border of an extensive sandy desert, which reaches as far as Syene. To the dangers of travelling above 500 miles in a con-

* The Bahar Azergue, i. e. Blue River, is the name which the Arabs give to the Abyssinian branch of the Nile. The western branch, which comes from Jibbel el Kumr, south of Dar-fûr, they call Bahar el Abiad, the White River.

† The desert between Sennaar and Egypt is inhabited, or rather traversed, by various independent tribes of wandering Arabs. Some of these have become fixed, and reside in villages on the southern frontier of the desert. The Ababdé tribes possess that part of the desert nearest to Egypt: The Bisharîn tribes dwell in the part nearest to Sennaar; but in the district lying between the desert and that city, is the goverument of Chendi, belonging to the Jahaleen tribes, under which denomination all the Arabs belonging to Sennaar are generally comprehended.

tinual wilderness, which afforded little water, and no supply of provisions of any kind, was added the chance of meeting with the Bishareen Arabs, who traverse these burning sands, and murder every stranger whom they can find. Mr Bruce, while at Sennaar, had intended to join a caravan, going by this route to Egypt, under the command of one Mahomet Towash, who had been raising a contribution in Soudân * for the holy sepulchre, and might have expected protection from the Arabs on account of his sacred character; but, in order to leave Mr Bruce destitute of assistance, the king of Sennaar had advised that person to set out before him, and to take all the guides along with his caravan. He accordingly left none behind him, who knew the desert, except one called Idris, who fortunately was detained at Chendi for debt. The rest had accompanied him, with a readiness which proved fatal to him and his companions. As soon as they approached the borders of Egypt, some of the guides perfidiously carried information to the Bishareen, who attacked the Aga and his followers, and murdered them all, to the number of ninety persons.

Having relieved Idris from his arrest, and made every preparation in their power for their dreary journey, Mr Bruce and his servants set out from Chendi; and, after travelling four days, crossed the Tacazzé, the last great river that falls into the Nile. As they were now about to enter the desert, they laid in a stock of water and provisions at Gooz, a village near the ferry; and having agreed to a few regulations, and repeated the prayer of peace †, committed themselves to the wilderness. They amounted to thirteen or fourteen persons, only eight of whom were effective, and well armed. They left Gooz on the 9th of November;

* Soudân is the Arabic name of Negro-land, that is of the country along the Joliba, or Nile of the Negroes, in the interior of Africa.

† The first chapter of the Koran, used as a form of prayer. It is called "el fetaa." Gooz signifies "the sands."

and, in two days after, lost sight of the Nile, which turns, soon after its junction with the Tacazzé, to the west. The desert then opened all around, covered with rocks and burning sands, the latter of which were seen, at times, raised in the air to a great height, and, being illuminated by the rays of the sun, appeared like pillars of fire. The heat and thirst excited by the sun and glowing atmosphere, were as nothing, compared with the effects of the simoom, or poisonous wind, which is produced in these deserts, and suffocates every creature who has not, by falling to the ground, the address to avoid it. On the sixth day after leaving Gooz, Mr Bruce and his party suffered exceedingly from a blast of this wind, near a well called Chiggré, in lat. 20° 58′ 30″ N.

From Chiggré they continued their journey through numberless difficulties, till they came to Terfowey, a place which, though barren in an uncommon degree, possesses some wood, and springs of water. On the night of the 19th of November, a Bishareen Arab and two women, who were passing by Terfowey, were seized by them in the act of stealing their camels, with an intention of carrying them off to their tribe. If the Arab had succeeded in this attempt, Mr Bruce and his companions must have died of hunger at the well. They therefore threatened him with instant death, if he did not discover his accomplices, the place where his tribe was encamped, and what reception they had to expect on meeting with it. The Bishareen informed them of the miserable end of Mahomet Towash, at which he had been present, and gave an account of the movements of the tribe, which corresponded, for the most part, with the declarations of the women, taken separately. Mr Bruce therefore interceded for his life with the rest of the company, who were about to kill him, and proposed to carry him prisoner into Egypt, having first deprived the women, by disabling their camels, of the means of giving intelligence to their relations. This proposal being adopted, they set out from Terfowey.

The simoom attacked them soon after their departure, and one of their camels died of hunger and fatigue. As a last resource, in case of famine, they dried and preserved slices of the flesh. On the second day after they had left Terfowey, they were again involved in the purple haze of the poisonous wind. Silence, and a desperate indifference about life, were the immediate effects of this occurrence; their camels being quite exhausted, Mr Bruce himself, by far the most courageous of the company in every part of the journey, began to despair, and to expect, with a degree of resignation, a sandy grave. Their bread was nearly at an end, and their water, though occasionally supplied from wells, was brackish. In this distressful condition, they held out four days longer, in the course of which, they found the dead bodies of Mahomet Towash and his followers scattered in the desert, and met with a party of Ababde Arabs, who gave them some information of their exact distance from Egypt. On the 26th of November, they reached Saffieha, a place, as they were afterwards informed, about 40 miles from Syene. Their camels, overcome with hunger and fatigue, and chilled with the excessive cold of that night, could advance no further, As the distance from Syene was unknown, and their strength so far reduced as to be scarcely sufficient for travelling, much less for carrying water and provisions, death appeared inevitable. The loss of all his drawings, journals, and indeed of every memorandum of his travels, was an affliction of such a kind as excludes the possibility of describing Mr Bruce's feelings in these moments of complicated distress. Having loaded themselves with the scanty remains of their black bread and impure water, most of which they were obliged to take from the stomach of their camels, they made a last effort to save their lives. In the evening of the second day after leaving Saffieha, Mr Bruce, having parted from his company, for the purpose of viewing the ground to the westward of a small eminence,

then in sight, heard the sound of the Nile, and judged that they were near it, by the flight of the river birds. On returning to his companions, he communicated to them this discovery, which was confirmed by the guide, and instantly followed by loud acclamations of joy. They arrived early in the forenoon of the following day at a grove of palm trees to the north of Syene.

The janizary Ismael went into the town, and informed the Aga*, of their arrival, and distress in the desert. The other servants, judging by their own feelings, that their master needed repose, retired together, and left him alone for that purpose. Mr Bruce fell into a profound sleep under the shade of a palm tree, from which he was awakened by a message from the Aga. The pain, fatigue, and misfortunes, which he had undergone in the desert, had reduced his mind to a state of careless insensibility, which rendered him indifferent about his past sufferings, or present deliverance; and his feet were so disabled by the journey, that he could not stand nor walk for some time. The Aga received him with compassion and kindness, and supplied him with money and necessaries. After having rested a few days, he obtained from that officer a party, which went back with him to Saffieha, where, to his unspeakable satisfaction, he found his baggage untouched and entire.

He left Syene on the 11th of December, 1772, and arrived at Cairo, on the 10th of January following. He and his servants took up their lodging in the convent of St George, near the town, till he could send information of his arrival to his correspondents, the French merchants. But he was not permitted to remain long in that retreat. Mahomet Bey Aboudahab, who had usurped the throne of Ali Bey, his father-in-law, being informed by Ishmael the janizary, of Mr Bruce's arrival from Habbesh, sent a party of

* Turkish governor of the garrison.

soldiers to the convent, who dragged him, on the very night of his arrival, to the palace. It was not the Bey's intention to treat him in a rude manner; but the soldiers supposing, from his mean dress and neglected appearance, that he was a person of little consequence, hurried him along, as if he had been a felon. The Bey received him very graciously, and sympathised with him in the distresses that he had undergone in passing the desert, the effects of which, on his feet, were so painful, as to oblige him to kneel all the time of audience. After dismissing him, the Bey, by a slave, offered him a present of money, which he did not accept, and this refusal, so extraordinary from a person of his appearance, made the servant conduct him back into the presence of his master. In this second interview, Mr Bruce informed the Bey of his rank and situation in life, and of the reasons which had induced him not to accept the present. The Bey, highly satisfied with these, asked, with great complacency, what he should do for him. The moment was favourable for such a petition as Mr Bruce immediately preferred. While residing at Jidda, he had observed the enormous extortion of the sheriffe of Mecca, which had nearly ruined the English East India trade in that place; and, as he knew that the company would willingly change that station, if a better could be procured, he asked from the Bey permission for the English East India ships to come to the port of Suez, at the bottom of the Arabian gulf. The Bey readily granted this request, and afterwards settled with him the articles of the agreement. The firmân, or goverment order, ratifying the permission, was immediately written, and dispatched by Mr Bruce to India, along with a letter, informing the gentlemen concerned in the trade of the Red Sea, how to proceed in consequence of this transaction.

At the time when Mr Bruce obtained the order from the Bey, the latter was preparing for an expedition against his father-in-

law, who was still in Syria with a small army. He urged the traveller to go with him to the camp. This Mr Bruce declined; on the contrary, being sufficiently aware of the disorder which always accompanies such a war in that barbarous country, he prepared to leave Cairo as soon as possible. He arrived at Alexandria in the beginning of March, and thence sailed for Marseilles in a vessel belonging to that city. During the voyage, which lasted about three weeks, he was in very ill health, owing to the shock which his constitution had undergone in the desert, and to the disease called the Guinea-worm, which totally disabled him for walking, and endangered his life. The weather was exceedingly stormy; they were on the point of being shipwrecked on the coast of Africa; and the state of the vessel, along with the superstition of the crew, had nearly induced them to throw Mr Bruce's baggage overboard, which would have deprived him, almost on the shores of his own country, of the fruits of ten years labour and suffering.

SECTION IV.

MR BRUCE was received at Marseilles by his friends and the literary people of that city with enthusiasm. The Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, and many others, who had taken a particular interest in his travels, came to congratulate him on his return, and to hear from him a detail of his adventures and discoveries. With the first of these gentlemen he contracted an intimate friendship. The Comte, who was then publishing his great work on natural history, took an early opportunity of announcing to the world the information which he had received in that science from Mr Bruce himself, and from a perusal of his numerous and beautiful drawings *.

After having resided in the south of France, till his health was in some measure restored, he set out for Paris, in company with the Comte de Buffon. The reception which he met with in that

* Vide advertisement to the third volume of M. de Buffon's History of Birds. The testimony of that illustrious naturalist is the more valuable, that it was given after Mr Bruce had freely communicated to his friend an account of the several articles, which he seldom did to any person.

South Staffordshire, 4 IIs. 3d. net.

"UNFERMENTED BREAD, &c."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In your notice of this valuable pamphlet in Friday's *Times*, you allude to the great loss occasioned by the system of over-refining the flour, in addition to that which accrues by fermentation; but there are other points mentioned in the pamphlet of such enormous importance to the poor of England, that I am sure you will excuse the liberty I take in drawing your attention and that of the public to them.

The author states that brown bread is far more nutritious and wholesome than white bread—that is, that bread made from meal, containing a portion of the bran or pollard, is better than that made from the highly-refined flour.

That a man will live and do well upon brown bread and water, but that he will pine and starve upon white bread and water.

That the over-refining of flour to produce white bread deprives it of its saline portions, which are necessary for the health of man; and that the carious teeth and soft bones, so prevalent amongst the poor in England, may be attributed to the passion for white bread, which has become almost universal in this country, and which is indulged in by mothers and given by them to their children.

To the rich these facts are not of the like vital importance as to the poor, because the former have plenty of meat and other nourishment to supply the want of it in their bread; but to the poor man, and to his children, whose sole food in many parts of the country five days out of seven consists only of bread, sometimes rendered savoury by the addition of boiling water and salt, the absence of nutrition therein is a question of life and death.

I do not profess to be a scientific man, but a physician ought to be so; and I cannot believe that any one would lightly state upon insufficient grounds such facts as those I have quoted. Ought they not, then, to be inquired into by the Government? Is the probable cause of the prevalence of scrofula in England a thing of small moment? Is the waste of upwards of eleven millions of money, or four millions and a half quarters of wheat, annually unimportant, when so much poverty and misery prevails, and when the result of such waste is in the production of an article incapable, alone, of supporting life?

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

June 21. A CLERGYMAN.

JOSEPH ADY DEFEATED AT LAST.—A summons was heard on the 18th inst., before Mr. Serjeant Manning, the Judge of the New Court at Whitechapel, in which the notorious Joseph Ady was the defendant, on the plaint of Mr. G. R. Dodd, a solicitor, of New Broad-street, city. It appeared from the statement of Mr. Rhodes, the clerk to the plaintiff, that the latter, some time back, received from Ady one of his circulars, promising, as usual, some valuable information on the receipt of a fee of 1*l.*, which was afterwards paid to him on his giving a receipt in writing, coupled with an undertaking to return the money in case the promised information proved erroneous or useless. In return for his fee Joseph sent the plaintiff a number of papers, consisting chiefly of lists of unclaimed dividends, and reports of cases in which he had figured as defendant before the magistrates, and, as he asserted, proved his innocence of the fraud imputed to him, together with some absurd cautions against joining certain public companies, all of which were utterly useless to the plaintiff, who, in consequence, demanded the return of his money, according to the condition upon which he had paid it. This being refused by Ady, the summons was taken out against him, and the Judge, after hearing Ady's solicitor, who made the best of his bad case, decided that the money should be repaid to the plaintiff, with all his expenses, within a week from the hearing of the summons.

ceased veteran would now have been in possession of this envied and honourable badge, which would have told to distant posterity the deeds and daring of their ancestor. If they are now deprived of it, we conceive it abundantly clear that the country takes advantage of its own unthankfulness, and that the descendants of a meritorious soldier are refused a memorial which he fairly won, by the very parties who interposed that unwarrantable delay which they now plead in bar of the claim. From the moment when the medal became justly due to the survivor, and should, according to precedent, have been given, the claim became more than personal; it became almost as transferable as the possession, and we consider it as only consistent with the barest justice that they who would naturally have inherited such a memorial when received should now be held entitled to receive it.

Another case has lately been suggested to us to which the second principle we laid down may fairly be applied, if, indeed, it may be said to admit so much of a doubt as to require the favour. It is formally announced that soldiers actually present in certain memorable battles are entitled to this coveted distinction, and we have already recorded our reasons for concluding that their representatives in the cases specified inherit their title. But take another case. Suppose that a man fought and conquered at Vimiero, Talavera, Busaco, Barossa, and Fuentes d'Onor, and then fell, as three-fourths of all engaged fell, at Albuera—or, to speak even more strongly, suppose that, after fighting from the Mondego to the Bidassoa, and surviving even Badajos

part of the medical and relieving officers. The circance came to the notice of the Poor Law Commisthrough *The Times*, and they have in consequence ed further information. Hence the forthcoming y.

EAD STUFFS.—The foreign imports of wheat, &c., into Liverpool are again large. The following e quantities which arrived from the 11th to the 19th -3,089 quarters, 14,972 bags, and 1 box of wheat; 3 barrels of flour; 14,052 quarters, 37,155½ bushels, 0 bags, 2,484 sacks, 1,689 barrels, and 1 box of Indian 27,276 barrels of Indian meal; 1,570 quarters and bags of oats; 1,000 barrels of oatmeal; 840 quarters, bags, and 635 bushels of barley; 4,075 quarters, 8,805 nd 284 barrels of beans; 232 bags, 25 tierces, and 96 f peas; 16,140 bags, 297 tierces, 100 packets, and 217 f rice; 3,436 barrels of bread; 684 barrels, 1,173 nd 320 boxes of biscuits; 200 barrels of rye flour; 346 nd 360 barrels of soda biscuits. Imports of wheat, c., from Ireland, into Liverpool, from the 11th to inst.:—121 tons, 1,529 barrels, 2,000 bushels, and 609 wheat; 1,641 barrels and 1,751 sacks of flour; 120 wheaten meal; 53 tons and 2,612 barrels of oats; 191 bags and 164 sacks of loads of oatmeal; bushels of rn; 12 tons, 149 bags, and and 190 quarters of barley; 5 tons of rice, and 80

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metropolis was exceedingly flattering *. His travels became a subject of general conversation; his company was courted every where, and by persons of the first distinction in point of learning and quality. As an acknowledgement of the favours which he had received from the French nation in the course of his travels, he presented a part of the seeds of rare plants which he had collected in Abyssinia, to the king's garden at Paris, and a copy of the prophecies of Enoch, a literary curiosity of considerable value, to the Royal Library †.

His health being still unconfirmed, he set out from Paris about the end of July, for Italy. On reaching Bologna, he was welcomed by his friend the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and spent about two months at the baths of Poretta ‡. His health was completely established during his residence at Bologna; where he first reposed from the fatigues of travel, and found leisure to finish such of his drawings of architecture and natural history as had not been completed in Africa.

From Bologna he went to Rome, much against the advice of his friends §, who knew that the causes of his excursion to that city arose from circumstances || unworthy of his notice, and likely in the end to prove dangerous to himself. Fortunately, no disagreeable consequences took place. On the contrary, his reception there was perhaps more flattering to a mind like his, which rever-

* Appendix, note G.

† Letters of Lemonier from Versailles, September 3. 1773, and from Choisi, June 11. 1774, mentioning the progress of the plants which had come up; and the drawings of those sent to Mr Bruce in Scotland. Letter of Bignon on receipt of the MS. from l'hotel de la Biblioth. du Roi, September 3. 1773.

‡ Letters of P. Balugani, September 13. 1773, of Martinelli, Bol. Oct. 4. 1773.

§ Letter from Consul Mann, Florence, November 16. 1773, and from Birbeck at Marseilles, and others, August 1773.

|| Letters to and from Accoramboni, Rome, November 1773.

ed ancestry and noble descent, than any which he elsewhere experienced. That city was the last retreat of some families which had formerly held a high rank in his native country; and, though the political causes which had brought them so low never influenced any part of his opinions, he was not insensible to the pleasure with which they enjoyed his fame. He received particular marks of attention from many of the Roman nobility, and was introduced to Pope Clement XIV, the celebrated Ganganelli, who presented him with a series of gold medals relating to several transactions of his pontificate *.

Mr Bruce returned to France in spring 1774, where he resided till June following. He left Paris about the middle of that month, and arrived soon after in England, from which he had been absent twelve years †. The public, as might have been expected, was impatient to hear his adventures; and every person of distinction or learning, who had any curiosity to know the wonders of foreign countries, sought his acquaintance. He shewed his numerous and beautiful drawings, which obtained particular praise; and his collection of Ethiopic manuscripts, a sufficient proof, to *such* as could read them, of his travels in Abyssinia. Soon after his arrival in London he was introduced at court, and graciously received by his Majesty, who was pleased to honour with his royal approbation Mr Bruce's labours in the cause of discovery, and to accept those drawings of Baalbec, Palmyra, and the African cities, which the traveller had promised to make for his collection ‡.

* Letters from his friends at Bologna, which allude to those particulars, December 4, 1773; and the medals at Kinnaird.

† Letters of congratulation from his friends, June and July 1774.

‡ Mr Bruce received a gratuity for these drawings. Letter from Whitshed Keene, Esq. to Mr B. London, Dec. 4. 1775.

After a residence of some months in London, he prepared to visit Scotland. The curiosity of the public respecting his travels continued to operate nearly to the same extent as formerly; but several persons, who were envious of his fame, ignorant of his merits, or offended at the little deference which he paid to their learning, began to depreciate his character, and to propagate stories injurious to his reputation. Mr Bruce's manner of conversing in private companies, was open, free, and animated. On occasions when he thought proper to amuse his friends with an account of his adventures, he generally fixed upon such of them as differed most from common occurrences. A description of the savage manners of the Galla, of the bloody feasts of the Abyssinians, of the negro court of Sennaar, or even of his own artifices to astonish and awe barbarians, was calculated to amuse men of sense and judgment, who knew something of the variety of human nature; but persons of a different character judged it incredible, because it was extraordinary. Most of the obloquy, however, which Mr Bruce experienced, was owing to envy. He had lived too long in a state of independence to become the humble admirer of any literary man; and had seen too much to be instructed by those dictators who presided in the different societies which, at that time, assumed the direction of learning and science. Some of his enemies, not contented with questioning his veracity in particular instances, asserted that he had never been in Abyssinia; and this palpable falsehood, which any scholar might have detected by looking at Mr Bruce's Ethiopic manuscripts, was afterwards believed by many, on the authority of Mr Wortley Montague, and the Baron de Tott *.

* Letters of Mr Montague, published in the European Museum for 1792, and the Baron de Tott's Travels. The story of Mr Bruce's having gone into Armenia, was founded on a passage in one of his letters dated from Sidon, May 10th 1768, to Sir R. Strange. Mr Bruce deposited his Abyssinian MSS. for some time in the British Museum, as appears by

A proud sense of honour and independence led him to treat with indignant but silent contempt these insinuations, which were not spread for the purpose of ascertaining truth, but of defrauding living merit of its fame and reward. He found all who were best able to judge of his character and abilities, ready to give full credit to his narrative, generous in their sentiments, respectful in their inquiries, and candid in their opinions respecting his pretensions and abilities.

Mr Bruce left London in the beginning of autumn on his way to Scotland. He was received with much joy and attention at Edinburgh, and all over the country. During the four last years of his travels, no certain information had been received concerning him. A report of his death had been circulated, the truth or falsehood of which remained unknown till he arrived at Marseilles.

As he now intended to settle in his native country, he rebuilt his house, and began to regulate the affairs of his estate, which had gone into disorder during his absence. A number of law-suits, arising from various circumstances, engrossed his attention, and, with other avocations, totally prevented, for a long time, his application to literature.

On the 20th of May 1776, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask, Esq. by Lady Janet, daughter of Charles sixth Earl of Lauderdale; an amiable and accomplished woman, whose memory is still revered in that part of the country *. The public expected, that, after having settled at home, he would immediately proceed to compose and publish an account of his travels; but this he was obliged to defer, for the reasons already mentioned.

a letter from Sir Joseph Banks, July 21. 1788; but it would appear that nobody inspected them. Indeed, seldom has the honour of any man been insulted on more frivolous grounds, and with more gross injustice and ignorance.

* Mrs Bruce has been dead twenty years.

For some time after his return to Scotland, he kept up a correspondence with his friends in France. At the request of one of these *, he amused himself with translating the prophecies of Enoch from the Abyssinian; but the subject, as he advanced in the translation, displeased him, and he soon abandoned it. After his marriage, he dropped his French correspondence, and had little intercourse with any literary men, except with such as visited him in the country. In the shooting season, he generally spent some time at a place called Ardwhillery, near Callender in Menteith, in the Highlands of Scotland †. He was engaged, during his residence there, in more attractive and peaceful pursuits than those of ambition or controversy. Happy in his family, and satisfied that he had done, or at least suffered, as much as any man then alive, in order to instruct and gratify the public, he allowed his mind an interval of repose between the toils of travelling, and the vexations of appearing before the public as a candidate for literary fame.

He accordingly made a slow progress in transcribing or arranging his journals, for nearly twelve years after his return. It is uncertain, indeed, whether he would not have suffered them to remain at last unpublished, if a domestic misfortune had not oblig-

* M. Journu de Montagny, with whom Mr Bruce kept up a correspondence between 1774 and 1776.

† Vide a description of Ardwhillery, and the romantic scenery around it, in Robertson's account of the parish of Callender in Menteith, Vol. XI. of Sir J. Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland. It is situated on the road to Fort-William, at a short distance from Benledi, one of the highest mountains in the kingdom, on the banks of Lochlubnaig, which resembles, in its most remarkable feature, the lake of Dembea. The stream of the river, which forms the Teith, is distinctly visible in its passage through Lochlubnaig. The Teith itself, a beautiful and romantic river, is the chief branch of the Forth; but the same cause, which probably induces the Arabs to consider the Bahar-el-abiad as only accessory to the Abyssinian river, has led the people in that part of Scotland to confer the name of Forth on an inferior stream. Mr Bruce, however, had no occasion to argue from this coincidence; perhaps it never occurred to his mind.

ed him to seek the consolation of study. Mrs Bruce's health, which had always been delicate, began to decline rapidly, in the winter of 1784. She had been long afflicted with a lingering disease, which, in the spring of the year 1785, brought her, in very early life, to the grave *.

This melancholy event deprived Mr Bruce of his principal source of happiness, and left him in solitude. His friends endeavoured to sooth his affliction, by recalling his mind to the actions of the former part of his life, and by contrasting his courage and fortitude in the performance of these with his present dejection. The Hon. Daines Barrington, in particular, urged him to undertake a task, to which he was called by the duty which he owed to himself, and by the sincerest wishes of all who knew him, or who felt an interest in African discovery. Flattered by their encouragement, and willing to escape from painful recollections, he began to enlarge the history of his different routes, and to translate the annals of Abyssinia from the original MSS. The narrative of the travels was first written; the reflections on the Indian trade, on the ancient history of Abyssinia, and on other subjects, were added afterwards. Part of the first sketches were written with his own hand, and part dictated to his clerk, which last was his usual method of composing †.

Mr Bruce, when once engaged in any undertaking, was eager and indefatigable. The greatest part of the work was finished before 1788, and submitted to the inspection of the Hon. Daines Barrington, and some other friends, alike eminent for their lite-

* Mr Bruce had three children by this lady, the eldest of whom, Robert, died when an infant. The other two are the present Mr Bruce of Kinnaird, and the wife of John Jardine, Esq. advocate.

† A great part of the dissertations on the Indian trade, and the early history of Atbara, is found in the journals, and appears to have been written at Sennaar. His mind seems to have been uncommonly active during his dangerous residence at that place. Part of the

rary talents and their high station in life *. It was printed at Edinburgh, and thence transmitted to London, where it was published by the Robinsons, in 1790, in five volumes quarto, under the title of " Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the " years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773."

In the four first volumes the author gave a view of his journies in Barbary, Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia, in the order of time in which they had been performed. In the fifth volume he comprised an account of such articles of natural history as he judged most worthy of selection from the numerous notes and drawings he had taken in the East. In an introduction to the whole work, in the first volume, he gave a short account of the motives which induced him to undertake his perilous expedition into Abyssinia, and of his reasons for describing, only in a cursory manner, Barbary and Egypt, countries better known to the learned, and more accessible to travellers than the other. In the second volume he entered into a full detail of the history of Abyssinia, from the earliest times, which he illustrated from new materials collected in that country, and with many important and striking observations drawn from his own experience. This history occupies the third and fourth books; the work itself being divided into six.

The reception which these Travels met with from the public at large, was exceedingly flattering. The book was universally read, and commended, by persons of the first literary reputation, for the large fund of instruction and amusement which it contain-

original MSS. of the Travels, &c. is still preserved in three quarto volumes, which were written or dictated at leisure hours between 1775 and 1784. The narrative in these sketches was afterwards much enlarged, corrected and abridged, in a number of places.

* Letters of the Hon. Daines Barrington, the Bishop of Carlisle, and others, to Mr Bruce, April 21. Dec. 7. &c. 1788.

ed *. The only attacks made on the work, or rather on the character of its author, appeared in the anonymous periodical publications of the day, some of which, from mercenary, and others from malicious motives, in their respective writers, were filled with abuse and misrepresentation. It was translated into French by a writer of the name of Castera, in the same year in which it was published in London, and had a rapid circulation on the continent †.

In attempting to estimate the merits and defects of a work so extensive and multifarious, it is necessary to consider the end in view when it was composed. Books of travels are written in order to amuse as well as to instruct; but it is no uncommon thing for literary men to appreciate the value of such works solely by the quantity of information which they afford. Yet long scientific details, however new and valuable, cannot be popular; and those books of travels, which abound in them, may be praised by a multitude, but are perused only by a small number of readers.

Had Mr Bruce intended to write merely for the use of the geographer, politician, and natural philosopher, he would have compressed his narrative into a much smaller size, and have divested his observations of every extraneous circumstance. But he wrote to instruct and amuse the general reader; and this is a sufficient reason for his devoting so considerable a portion of his book to the history of his own adventures, and to that of the persons with whom he was connected in the course of his travels.

His work, therefore is to be considered as an amusing and instructive narrative of various journies in foreign countries, inter-

* Appendix, Note H.

† The Travels were translated into German, by J. J. Volkmann, with a preface and notes, by J. Fr. Blumenbach. Leipsic, 1790. An *epitome* of the work was published in 1791, with some learned, but not liberal observations on particular parts of it.

spersed with observations on man and nature, not written by a scientific, but by an able, accomplished, and intelligent traveller. He relates his own actions with the same freedom with which he describes those of others, because they formed a part of his subject, and were interesting enough to merit remembrance.

The Introduction to his Travels contains the most recent account of the interior of Barbary; and it must be regretted, that the encouragement of the public did not enable him to publish his excellent drawings, along with a fuller description of the ruins found in that country. The cursory narrative which he writes of his voyage up the Nile, and of his journey to Cosseir, is replete with useful and curious information. He was among the first who endeavoured to correct and settle the hydrography of the Red Sea; and, though later surveys have ascertained it with greater precision, his observations are valuable and numerous*. On entering Abyssinia, he presents to the view of the reader an empire nearly unknown, exhibiting modes of religion, manners, and government, widely different from those of all European nations. Without some previous knowledge of the language and history of that country, the reader becomes less able to judge of his accuracy; but his abilities in describing characters, and in delineating human nature, strike the most ordinary mind, and greatly excel those of any other traveller. No stronger proofs of this assertion need be mentioned than the intimate acquaintance which, in perusing his narrative, we form with all his principal characters, and the regret with which, on arriving at the conclusion of the account, we leave a country, to which the mind has

* Among Mr Bruce's papers are charts and drawings of the harbours of Mocha, of the road of Gedan, ports of Rabac, Confoda, Sibt, Masuah, road of Shekh Omar, Nohoude P., Râs Heli, Jibel Zeeran, Jibbel Suryne, of the isles Abeled, rock Cotumbal, Jibel Wusan, Dahaban, Mersa Berk, mountain opposite the isle of Wudan, mountains above Sibt, Jibel Foran, isle of Dureghi, road of Goofs, &c. made by Luigi Balugani. The chart of Mocha seems to be a copy.

acquired a kind of local attachment. Above all other writers of travels he possesses the art of giving a lively, complete, and interesting portrait of those persons with whom he was particularly connected, and of the rude state of society in which he occasionally lived in barbarous countries.

The journals of his routes in Abyssinia and Nubia were written with the most minute attention, and form a valuable accession to geographical science. The Jesuits had sketched a map of these countries, but they had determined scientifically the position of none of the places. Mr Bruce has ascertained the latitude and longitude of a greater number of places in Africa, than any other traveller, and deserves particular imitation in this respect.

We are further indebted to him for a recent and copious description of the various tribes which inhabit the eastern coast of that continent, from the 11th to the 24th degree of N. latitude; in short, for an accurate view of the moral and natural phenomena of a most extensive and varied tract of country, nearly inaccessible to discovery, and almost unknown to Europeans. His account of the kingdom of Sennaar is copious and unique; and his journey through the desert of Nubia, on the eastern side of the Nile, is in the highest degree interesting.

In collecting into one view the principal merits of his work, it may be thought an omission, that no notice has been taken of his discovery of the sources of the Nile. The springs of the Abay, which he visited, were generally reputed to be the chief source of the Egyptian river when he left Europe. The Abay itself is unquestionably one of the principal branches of the Nile, and seems to be considered, by the natives of Habbesh and Atbara, as the higher part of the great river. But the claim of the Abay to this last honour is contested, as well as the discovery of its sources by Mr Bruce. Admitting both to be well founded, this discovery, whatever ideas of imaginary glory it may have excited, or what-

ever influence these may have had in promoting his journey, seems, when considered by itself, to be comparatively of very little importance.

The defects of this work, which bear a small proportion to its merits, arise from circumstances common to most performances of the kind, a love of theory and system, a desire to please the reader, and, in several instances, from a degree of inattention and carelessness, not easily avoided in composing a long narrative of minute transactions.

In the course of his voyages on the Red Sea, Mr Bruce had observed many singular phœnomena, which, along with the information given by ancient writers, led his mind to reflect on the first establishment of the Indian trade, and the navigation of the Arabian gulf, in the most remote ages. Imagining that the birthplace of ancient civilization lay in Ethiopia, that is, in the country between Azab, or Adel, and Syene, he entered into a theoretical history of the establishment of trade and commerce, and the invention of the arts and sciences, particularly of architecture, astronomy, and writing, by the Shepherds of Azab and Meroe, and by their kindred, the Cushites, who afterwards peopled Egypt. He has executed this undertaking with much learning and ingenuity, particularly that part of it which relates to the triennial voyages of the Jews and Phœnicians to Tarshish. But it is easy to see, that his theory, however applicable in a few instances, is liable to powerful objections. He seems to take it for granted, that the Shepherds and Cushites, names of indefinite signification, occupied the whole extent of country already mentioned, without dissention or difference, in the remotest times; and that their posterity inhabits Abyssinia and Atbara at this day. To simplify ancient history in this manner, by leaving out of the account many of the scattered facts which are preserved concerning these nations in their ancient, as well as what is known of them in their modern

state, is a dangerous experiment, apt to deceive both the author and his readers. His account of the building of Axum, Meroe, and Thebes, and of the origin of writing, is therefore unsatisfactory; and, when he descends to the history of the modern Abyssinians, who have no authentic annals till a late period, he gives too much credit to their national fables, which deduce the line of their kings from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and pretend to derive their government, laws, and institutions, from the Jews. The prevalence of the Jewish religion in Habbesh, before the æra of Christianity, has also inclined him to suppose, that the Falasha, the Agows, and the people of Amhara and Gafat, came originally from Palestine, though most of their languages have not the slightest affinity to the Hebrew.

The third and fourth books of the Travels, containing the history of Abyssinia, from the year 1298, to the time of his arrival in the country, along with the preceding one, already mentioned, on the Indian trade, form a long episode, which has been considered by many readers as uninteresting, and a clog on the narrative.

Although it be impossible to give to any national history, much less that of a barbarous country, the attractions of personal adventure, Mr Bruce has exerted himself with considerable success to enliven this digression, into which he was led by particular circumstances. He possessed a large collection of original MSS. on Abyssinian history. The information contained in these was entirely new; and, as he was the first who brought it into Europe, he naturally judged himself warranted to give an authentic history of Abyssinia in the course of his work, not in the dry form of a literal translation, but interspersed with his own reflections and observations. He placed it before the narrative of his Abyssinian journey, in order to serve as a key to the characters and events of his own time. Though it interrupts the story of his ad-

ventures, and must be, upon the whole, less interesting, it contains much useful and original information, and cannot be passed over without throwing an obscurity upon the rest of the work.

Another source of defect is owing to a natural desire of rendering his work agreeable and popular. This is remarkable in the rapidity with which he hurries on his narrative. He seizes our whole attention; he delights us by the variety and importance of his characters, his glowing description, and manly sense; but he seldom stops to give any general and collective views of the manners, population, or extent, of the country in which he travels. To the same cause must be ascribed, the freedom with which he has translated the conversations which passed between himself and the natives. He perceived, that a literal version would, in many intances, sound harsh and ridiculous, without having the merit of conveying a just idea of the speaker's sentiments and character. He chose the most agreeable alternative; and therefore the speeches appear, to an English reader, too easy and vernacular to be the genuine production of barbarians. It is only a person who is acquainted with the Abyssinian language and phraseology, who can trace their authenticity. Some of his characters have been thought too refined and sentimental for their particular state of society. There are, perhaps, some grounds for this objection: But Mr Bruce was intimately acquainted with the characters which he describes; and it must be observed, that those very persons, whom, on landing on a barbarous shore, we consider indiscriminately as savages, display, on further acquaintance, much of that variety of character, understanding, and feeling, which we expect only in civilized society.

The last class of defects in the work arose from inattention, of which it is unnecessary to exhibit instances, as most of them are referred to in the course of the succeeding volumes. His knowledge of the ancient languages was sufficient for the purposes of

reading and research; but he had not been trained to the drudgery of verbal criticism and minute classical information. In the heat of controversy, he sometimes mistakes the sense of the author whom he quotes, and this has yielded an imaginary triumph over his writings, to the commentators and critics on the continent, who ridiculously call in question his moral character, and the general merits of his work, because he has misinterpreted a passage of Herodotus or Strabo *.

Though his journals were in general copious, he too often omitted to consult them, trusting to the extent and accuracy of his recollection. At the distance of fifteen years, a part of so many incidents must have been effaced from the most tenacious memory. Before he composed his narrative, his mind had begun to suffer from the indolence natural to his time of life. He was not sensible, that, by relying with too great security on his memory, he was in danger of confounding dates, actions, and circumstances, which might have been easily rectified by his papers. To this inattention must be imputed those particular inconsistencies, which have been unjustly ascribed to his vanity or want of veracity.

As a writer, Mr Bruce's style is, in general, simple, manly, and unaffected. If, in some instances, it be deficient in purity, owing to his national habits, and mean opinion of the mechanical part of writing, it has the merit of being his own, an advantage often denied to the narratives of other travellers. He received no assistance from literary men, and imitated no favourite author, He is sometimes diffuse and prolix in the theoretical parts of his work,

* Vide Larcher's Translation of Herodotus, Gosselin's Researches, &c. passim. The learned Professor Hartmann's character of Mr Bruce is as follows: "Abessiniam salutasse Brucium, vix dubium; retulit multas res memoriâ dignas, sed saepissimè mendacia lectoribus pro veritate obtrudit; sibimetipsi haud rarò contradicit, doctrinam jactatur quâ tamen caruisse multis locis comprobat. Opere ejus nemo ergo utatur, nisi antea adhibita sit crisis circumspectissima." Edrisii Africa, Hartmanni, p. xxxv

but his narrative is always well written. His descriptions are animated; his expressions are often much more appropriate and happy than occur, on similar occasions, in the works of writers who have enjoyed every opportunity of study and practice. There are perhaps more sublime passages in his Travels, executed under the immediate impulse of genius, than are to be found in any other book of the kind. His character of Râs Michael has been pronounced genuine, because it is such as no writer could have invented since the time of Shakespeare *. It may be added, that it requires no common abilities to describe a character, which the imagination of Shakespeare alone could have equalled in the department of fiction.

In closing these cursory observations on the only work which Mr Bruce published, it is but justice to observe, that, extensive as it is, it comprehends but a moderate share of his labours. It contains only a sketch of his travels in Barbary, and none of the beautiful drawings which he made in that country. His splendid delineations of the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra, his large collection of drawings of natural history, and his Arabic and Abyssinian manuscripts, ought to be considered as an accession to the literary treasures of the country, procured by his unwearied exertions and industry.

After the publication of his Travels, Mr Bruce renewed his correspondence with his friends in England, particularly with the Hon. Daines Barrington. The proceedings of the African Association excited his attention. It was expected that some of the travellers, then on their way through Africa, would reach Sennaar or Habbesh; though Mr Bruce considered both as unlikely to happen †. He applied, at intervals, to study, and amused him-

* Supplement to the Encycl. Britan. Vol. I. art. Bruce.

† Letters from Daines Barrington to Mr Bruce, Jan. 16. March 26. May 29. &c. 1792.

self with comparing part of the Ethiopic translation of the Bible with the original languages. He undertook this collation at the request of some persons, eminent for their high rank in the church, and equally conspicuous for learning and piety. Three years after the publication of the Travels, he was advised by his friends * to print a second edition in octavo, and he had made all his arrangements for that purpose, when his death suddenly prevented the execution of the design.

On Saturday, the 26th day of April 1794, having entertained some company at Kinnaird, as he was going down stairs, about eight o'clock in the evening, to hand a lady into a carriage, his foot slipped, and he fell down headlong, from about the sixth or seventh step from the ground. He was taken up in a state of apparent insensibility, with no marks of contusion, one of his hands only appearing a little hurt. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but with no success. Though, some hours after the accident happened, there appeared symptoms of recovery, these gradually vanished, and he expired early the next morning.

His remains were attended by a numerous and respectable company, on Thursday following, to the church-yard of Larbert, and deposited in the tomb which he had erected to the memory of his wife and child.

Mr Bruce's stature was six feet four inches; his person was large and well-proportioned; and his strength correspondent to his size and stature. In his youth he possessed much activity; but, in the latter part of his life, he became corpulent; though, when he chose to exert himself, the effects of time were not perceptible. The colour of his hair was a kind of dark red; his complexion was sanguine; and the features of his face elegantly formed. The general tone of his voice was loud and strong, but

* Letters from D. B. to Mr B. July 29. Nov. 29.

his articulation was sometimes careless and indistinct. His walk was stately; his air noble and commanding. He was attentive to his dress, and was particularly successful in wearing that of the nations through which he passed in an easy and graceful manner, to which he was indebted in part for his good reception, especially in Abyssinia.

The leading qualities of his mind were courage, magnanimity, and prudence. He was endowed with a large portion of that elevated spirit, without which no enterprise of importance is conceived or executed. He was ambitious to be known as the performer of honourable and useful undertakings, and was equally intrepid and dexterous in effecting his designs. Though he justly ascribed his success to causes which no man can controul or direct, he owed much of it to his own precaution and superior good sense. His mode of travelling was peculiar to himself*. He omitted no opportunity of securing the means of safety in foreign countries, by methods which other travellers have sometimes neglected, to their great disadvantage. To use his own expression, he was not to be duped by ordinary letters of recommendation; he knew the style of the East, and always attempted to gain the protection of great men, by some hold on their interest.

His personal accomplishments fitted him, in a superior manner, for the undertakings in which he engaged. His constitution was robust; he had inured himself to every kind of fatigue and exercise. His long residence among the Barbary Arabs, the best horsemen in the world, had enabled him to excel in the management of the horse, and in the exercise of the lance and javelin. His skill in the use of fire-arms was uncommonly great. He knew also how to display these accomplishments to the best advantage

* Vide Introduction to the Travels, p. 73-77.

among barbarians, and seldom failed to excite their applause and astonishment.

In qualifications of a different description, he equalled, if not surpassed, the generality of travellers. His memory was excellent, and his understanding vigorous and well cultivated. He found no difficulty in acquiring languages of any kind. He understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, the two first of which he spoke and wrote with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, though not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and, in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scriptures in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic. Necessity had made him acquainted with these last, and impressed them deeply on his mind *. He had applied, during the greatest part of his life, to the study of astronomy, and other practical branches of mathematical learning. His abilities in drawing must have been considerable, as his taste in this particular was acknowledged to be excellent. Though the attempts which were made to depreciate his character after his return, prevented him from mentioning the exact share of assistance which he had in executing his beautiful collection of drawings, it is certain that he received occasional help, and used it to much advantage.

Mr Bruce's temper, as he candidly confesses †, was irritable and passionate; but his heart was warm; his affections ardent; and his moral feelings extremely acute. His friendships were sincere, and, in general, permanent, though sometimes interrupted by suspicion. He enjoyed the esteem and regard of almost

* He frequently used, when in a thoughtful state of mind, to repeat to himself, in a low voice, the Arabic sentence, Staffar ullah (May God forgive), which his attendants, on account of his indistinct articulation, and their own ignorance of its meaning, thought he pronounced Stofla.

† Travels, Vol. V. p. 189.

every eminent literary character in Britain and France; of the Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, M. Daubenton; of the Barrington family, of Drs Douglas, Blair, and Herschel; and of many others in the very first ranks of virtue and science. He was an easy, cheerful, and instructive, companion. As he had a fixed regard for honour, justice, and integrity, he could not bear the slightest insinuation against his character; and, to relieve himself from the vexations of anonymous abuse, he publicly declared his resolution of never paying the smallest attention to any criticisms made on his writings by persons who concealed their names.

When he observed other men deficient in moral conduct, he usually expressed his contempt of them in the most open unqualified manner. This procured him many enemies. Persons of a doubtful character avoided him, and declaimed against his haughtiness, vanity, and other vices of their own creation. Like most men of high spirit and superior knowledge, he was a jealous neighbour to such as assumed to themselves claims of pre-eminence in the country to which he did not consider them as entitled; to others, who pursued a different conduct, he was friendly, affable, and attentive.

He discharged the public duties of society with superior ability and judgment. In private life he was, if possible, still more respectable. As a husband and a father, he deserved the highest praise. He entertained his friends, and strangers, with elegance, hospitality, and the most affable politeness. He loved to display, as far as suitable, the magnificence that had long distinguished the name which he inherited. He was kind and indulgent to his servants, and pleased to see every one around him prosperous and happy. He used to celebrate, with his tenants and domestics, the stated festivals observed by his forefathers, in the feudal times, and always enjoyed, in the highest degree, the common happiness on these occasions. He was fond of rustic pleasantry and humour;

and this, as will be readily observed, from the histories of Aboucouffi, Strates, Woldo, and others, in *the Travels*, constituted a particular feature of his mind.

There was nothing peculiar in Mr Bruce's habits of life. He neither rose very early, nor sat late, except on particular occasions. His journies in the East were generally made in the morning, for obvious reasons; and, in warm climates, he took much exercise, and paid great attention to his health. He was moderate in his use of liquors of all kinds, but not abstemious beyond the usual practice of society. He was a hard student when engaged in any literary pursuit, and eager in the prosecution of every design which he had begun to execute.

The most defective part of his character arose from his constitutional temper, which disposed him to be suspicious, and hasty in taking offence. His enmities therefore were sometimes capricious, though, in general, well founded. His love of ancestry, and practice of telling his own exploits, though magnified into vices by the weakest of his enemies, scarcely deserve notice as imperfections, though they certainly were prominent features, in his character. A brave and virtuous man must always feel a pleasure in remembering that he is like such of his forefathers as most deserved to be imitated and remembered; and no satisfactory reason can be assigned why a traveller should not relate his adventures. The pride of ancestry is ridiculous only when it is substituted for personal merit; and the practice of telling one's own actions, is reprehensible only when these are well known, trifling, or exaggerated.

Distinguished by his regard for the memory of ancestors who had been eminently loyal and patriotic, it is not surprising that Mr Bruce loved his king and country with the warmest affection. He would have been among the first to support either of these on any dangerous emergency, He considered the French revolu-

tion, and all such violent attempts at reformation, merely as a subversion of society, for the purpose of filling the places of the great with new adventurers. He knew the French nation well, predicted the consequences of its republican frenzy, and shed tears on receiving an account of the fate of the king.

His religious principles were founded on the best basis, the Scriptures, and a firm belief of an over-ruling Providence. He was not attached to any sect; he detested fanaticism; and frequently took occasion to expose it. He used to recommend a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, as preferable to that of all other theological writings. His mind, accustomed to dangerous situations, from which Providence alone could deliver him, had contracted a slight and amiable tinge of superstition*; sometimes an attendant on warm unaffected piety, though never arising, in understandings like his, from its ordinary causes.

On estimating, therefore, the various merits of Mr Bruce's character, the superior and numerous endowments and accomplishments which he employed in executing undertakings useful to society, and the uniform regularity with which he combined the practice of morality and religion with the ease and active life of a gentleman, it will not be considered as presumptuous to affirm, that his name is justly entitled to a place in the list of those, who have been eminently conspicuous for genius, valour, and virtue.

* Vide Travels, Vol. VI. p. 466, and Vol. VII. p. 260. et passim.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Note A. p. 4.

THE family of Bruce can be traced to the common source of British nobility, the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066; and perhaps, to the conquest of Normandy itself, in the beginning of the 10th century. The name De Bruis *, borne by one of Duke William's knights, the ancestor of this family, was taken from some town or estate on the continent, according to the general practice of those times. This warrior received from William, for military services, a large estate, of which the principal castle was Skelton, in Yorkshire. His son, Robert de Bruis, obtained the friendship of David I. of Scotland, while that prince was Earl of Cumberland, and, from him, after his accession to the throne, the extensive district of Annandale. His second son received for his appanage the

* Written variously, Bruis, Brus, Bruise, Bruce; the true orthography is probably Bruix, the name of several places on the continent. Robert de Bruis is called by Dugdale, nobilis miles de Normandia, from which it may be inferred, that he was of noble extraction, not an adventurer.

Scotch estate of which he assumed the armorial bearings* still borne by his descendants. The great grandson of this nobleman, Robert de Bruis, fourth lord of Annandale, married Isabel, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of which her son, the fifth lord of Annandale, became a competitor for the Scotish crown.

Robert de Bruis had three sons, from the youngest of which all the families of Bruce in Scotland, which have any records, are descended. This circumstance has occasioned an assertion, sometimes made in conversation, that the Bruces are sprung from the kings of that name. Their ancestor undoubtedly had a right to the throne, by which his grandson, Robert I. ascended it in the year 1306. But there is no family of the name of Bruce sprung from the king, as the line became extinct in his son David II. (A. D. 1371.)

Though the king had many brothers, none of them survived himself, nor left any legitimate children. A grandson of John de Bruis †, third son of the first competitor for the crown, obtained a charter of the lands of Clackmannan from king David Bruce, December 9, 1359. Edward, second son of Robert de Bruis, first baron of Clackmannan, married Agnes, eldest daughter and heiress of William de Airth, by whom he got possession of the lands of Airth, Powfoulis, Kinnaird ‡, Stenhouse, &c. in Stir-

* The arms of Annandale were *Or*, a saltyre and chief, *gules*, which were borne by all the Bruces, lords of Annandale, from 1143, till the death of king David in 1371. The barons of Clackmannan, as being next of kin to the king, assumed, some time after, the arms of this illustrious name, and transmitted them, with the usual mark of cadency, to the branches of their family. The crest is a hand holding a sceptre, *proper*, and the motto, which is "Fuimus," excites a melancholy recollection of departed greatness. The Bruces of Kinross carry, for a crest, a setting sun, with the motto "Irrevocabile," which may be translated, "Never to rise again."

† Robert de Bruis, great grandson of Robert the competitor for the crown, who obtained the lands and castle of Clackmannan, in Clackmannanshire, from king David, is called, in the charter, his beloved and trusty cousin (dilecto et fideli consanguineo suo), not on account of a general legal form, common at present, but on account of Bruce's relationship. David II. and he were, in the Scotch phrase, *second* cousins, both being great grandsons of the competitor.

‡ Among the most ancient possessors of the lands of Kinnaird on record, are the family of Colville, of Norman extraction, one of whom granted a lease of part of them to the convent

lingshire. This family long held the chief place among the cadets of the house of Clackmannan. In the end of the sixteenth century, Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth gave the estate of Kinnaird to his second son, Robert Bruce, then a minister of Edinburgh, from whom Mr Bruce is descended by the female side. Alexander Bruce, grandson of Robert Bruce, having no male issue, settled his estate on his daughter, and her lineal descendants, on condition of bearing the family name and arms. The male line of the Airth family is now extinct, as is also that of the house of Clackmannan.

The family of Hay is well known to be one of the most ancient in Scotland. It can even be traced with greater certainty than that of Bruis to Normandy, where a baron, sirnamed from his estate, de la Haie, or de la Haya, had large possessions before the time of the Norman conquest. The sieur de la Haya accompanied Duke William to England in 1066. It cannot be doubted, that all the families of the name originated from France; nor ought any credit to be given to the story commonly told of their exploits at the battle of Loncarty, A. D. 980. The ancestors of the Tweeddale and Errol families settled in Scotland in the reign of David I. who invited a number of Normans into the kingdom. The barons of both houses were always brave and loyal to an uncommon de-

of Holyroodhouse, September 15. 1229. They afterwards fell into the hands of the barons of Airth, whose large estate was divided among three co-heiresses, the eldest of whom was married to Edward Brus, probably about 1380. In August 1590, Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth resigned the lands of Kyneard in favour of Robert Bruce, his second son, and Margaret Douglas his wife, (daughter of George Douglas of Parkhead, a natural brother of the regent Morton). Robert Bruce resigned the same in favour of his eldest son Robert, and Margaret Monteith his wife, October 31. 1623, and died August 13. 1631. Robert Bruce, last mentioned, resigned his lands to his eldest son, Robert, December 30. 1643. The time of his death is not known. Robert, who succeeded to him, was killed at the battle of Worcester, September 5, 1651; and, as he died unmarried, his brother Alexander was infeoffed in the estate, January 3. 1655. Alexander Bruce married Margaret Elphinston, daughter to Elphinston of Quarrel, by whom he had two daughters, Helen, married to David Hay of Woodcockdale, and Jean, married to Henry Bruce, 12th baron of Clackmannan. The first of these was the grandmother of James Bruce, author of the Travels in Abyssinia. The only son of the second was Henry, 13th baron of Clackmannan, in whom the direct line of the family became extinct, and after whom the chiefdom devolved on the Earl of Elgin.

gree; and the Errol family seems to have obtained its lands in Perthshire for military services. Sir Gilbert de Haya of Locharret, and Sir Gilbert de Haya of Errol, were particularly active in raising Robert de Bruis to the throne. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, a younger son of the family of Errol got possession of the lands of Lochloy, in the parish of Auldearn, in Moray, which remained in his family about 400 years*. The Hays of Park and Lochloy long held a respectable place among the barons of Scotland, but the direct line is now extinct, and the estate alienated. In the end of the sixteenth century, a younger son of the Park family obtained the lands of Woodcockdale, in Linlithgowshire. In 1687, John Hay of Woodcockdale, and Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird, concluded a contract of marriage between David Hay, eldest son of the former, and Helen Bruce, eldest daughter and heiress of the latter, in which it was agreed, that their lineal descendants should enjoy the estate of Kinnaird, and bear the name and arms of Bruce.

No. II.

Note B. p. 6.

Royal Protection granted to Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird, 1683.

CHARLES R.

Whereas, we understand that captain Robert Bruce of Kynaird, brother to Alexander Bruce, now of Kynaird, having been captain in the earl of

* The oldest title of the Hays of Park, was dominus or lord, of Tolyboithneill. John Hay, dominus de Tolyboithneill, is witness or principal in three charters, dated 1351, 1368, and 1374, one of which mentions his barony of Lochloy. His seal, besides the three shields, the common arms of his name, had a *bend dexter* above the *charge*, which shews him to have been a person of rank.

Mar's regiment of horse, was by us called, in the year 1650, to be one of the captains of our life-guard, in which office he continued till the flight of Worcester, where, doing all that became a gentleman and a good souldier, he received those wounds which were the cause of his death soon after; and now being informed, that the said Alexander Bruce served faithfully in these wars, and received many wounds in our service, and that, after his brother's death, he had his estate sequestered by the English usurpers, and all his goods and moveables seized on: And likewise being informed, that the said Alexander Bruce is under divers processes of horning, captions, acts of warding and arresting for several sums of money, wherein he stands bound, as principal or cautioner, for the deceased Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan and William Bruce of Newton, whereof they are bound to relieve him, which he would be the better able to take course with, and to prove his own reliefe, and satisfaction to the creditors, if he had, for some competent time, freedom to his person for settling his affaires: And considering that his freedom, &c.

[Follows the grant of personal protection, for one year, commencing at the date of the grant.]

Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 3d day of February, 1682-3, and of our reign the 35th year.

By his Majesty's command,

MORAY.

No. III.

Note C. p. 8.

The depressed state and discontent of the nation, are often alluded to in the correspondence between Mr D. Bruce and his friends, when consulting about the education of his son. The passages in the letters of Solicitor Hamilton and others, which mention Mr Bruce's early abilities and proficiency in literature, are also very numerous. One or two of

these will give a sufficient idea of the rest, which are all in the highest strain of approbation. Dr Glen, brother-in-law to Mr D. Bruce, writes to him concerning his son, July 14, 1744, in the following terms:—"What I wrote to you about James, is all true, with this difference only, that you may say, as the Queen of Sheba said of Solomon, the one half has not been told you, for I never saw so fine a lad of his years in my life; but, lest I should have been deceived in my own opinion of him, I waited purposely on Dr Cox, to get information from him how he was profiting, whose answer to me on that occasion was this: "When you write to Mr Bruce's father about his son, you cannot say too much, for he is as promising a young man as ever I had under my care, and, for his years, I never saw his fellow."—Counsellor Hamilton having been employed by Mr Bruce to enquire at his son which profession he would chuse, writes as follows:—"June 28, 1746. I am extremely glad I can give you so good a character of him, for he is a mighty good youth, a very good scholar, and extremely good tempered; has good solid sense, and a good understanding; I make no doubt he will prove a very pretty fellow. I have talked to him about what profession he would most incline to. He very modestly says, he will apply himself to whatever profession you shall direct; but he, in his own inclination, would study divinity, and be a parson. The study of the law, and also that of divinity, are indeed both of them attended with uncertainty of success. But, as he inclines to the profession of a clergyman, for which he has a well-fitted gravity, I must leave it to you to give your own directions, though I think, in general, it is most adviseable to comply with a young man's inclination, especially as the profession which he proposes is, in every respect, fit for a gentleman."—Solicitor Hamilton's letter to Mr Bruce, April 18, 1747, when James set out for Scotland, concludes in the following manner:—"As to my giving him advice with respect to his conduct and behaviour on his journey, I apprehend that to be entirely unnecessary, because it is with pleasure I think that God Almighty has given him an understanding superior to what is common at his age, and sufficient I hope, to conduct him through all the various stages of life."

No. IV.

Note D. p. 15.

Letter of Mr Bruce to his Father.

DEAR SIR, *Marklane, Nov.* 12, 1754.

I received yours of the 28th ult. If I could be susceptible of more grief, I should have been much concerned for my good friend Mr Hay; but my distress at present does not admit of augmentation. Death has been very busy amongst my relations of late. My poor wife, my kind uncle*, who had been always a tender father to me, both gone in eight months! God Almighty do with me as he sees best! When I reflect upon what I have suffered these three years past, I am much more inclined to pray for my life being shortened than for a prolongation of it, if my afflictions must have no end but with my being. My mind is so shocked, and the impressions of that dreadful scene at Paris so strongly fixed, that I have it every minute before my eyes as distinctly as it was then happening. Myself a stranger in the country; my servants unacquainted with the language and country, my presence so necessary among them, and indispensibly so with my dear wife; my poor girl dying before my eyes, three months gone with child, full of that affection and tenderness which marriage produces when people feel the happiness, but not the cares of it; many of the Roman Catholic clergy hovering about the doors; myself unable to find any expedient to keep them from disturbing her in her last moments—Don't you feel for your son, dear sir, in these circumstances? But I will write no more; my afflicting you cannot alleviate my distress. I cannot, however, omit telling you an instance of Lord Albemarle's very great humanity; he has been always a warm protector of this house. The morning before my wife died, he sent his chaplain down to offer his services in our distress. After hearing the service for the sick read,

* Counsellor Hamilton.

and receiving the sacrament together, he told me, in case I received any trouble from the priests, my Lord desired I would tell them I belonged to the English Ambassador. When my wife died, the chaplain came again to me, desired me to go home with him, and assured me, that my Lord had given him orders to see my wife buried in the Ambassador's burying-ground, which was accordingly done; and had it not been for this piece of humanity, she must have been buried in the common yard, where the wood is piled that serves the town for firing. I could not, however, leave her as soon as dead, as is the custom in England, but having ordered the mournful solemnity, with as much decency as is allowed in that country to heretics, at midnight, between the 10th and 11th ult. accompanied only by the chaplain, a brother of my Lord Foley's, and our own servants, we carried her body to the burying-ground, at the Porte St Martin, where I saw all my comfort and happiness laid with her in the grave. From thence, almost frantic, against the advice of every body, I got on horseback, having ordered the servant to have post horses ready, and set out in the most tempestuous night I ever saw, for Boulogne, where I arrived next day without stopping. There the riding, without a great coat, in the night time, in the rain, want of food, which, for a long time, I had not tasted, want of rest, fatigue, and excessive concern, threw me into a fever; but, after repeated bleedings, and the great care taken of me by Mr Hay, I recovered well enough to set out for London on the Wednesday. I arrived at home on the Thursday, when my fever again returned, and a violent pain in my breast. The former is so far abated, that I am endeavouring to do a little business, hoping, from the variety of that, to find some ease from reflections that at present are too heavy for me. Thus ended my unfortunate journey, and with it my present prospect of happiness in this life *.

* A few sentences of this letter, not relating to the subject of the greater part of it, are omitted. Mr Bruce continued a widower above twenty years. He married Miss Dundas in 1776, who, from the inscription on the monument at Larbert, appears to have been born in the very year in which his first wife died.

No. V.

Note E. p. 38 †.

Consul Bruce to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, *Algiers, May* 31, 1764.

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of 18th November last. I am very happy that his Majesty has approved of my endeavours to stop the Algerine embassy destined to complain of the government of Gibraltar. That whole affair is now dropt and forgotten, and I have no occasion to trouble your Lordship further upon the subject.

As to the demand of the Moors, for their cargo seized on board the British brig in Oran, I cannot conceal from your Lordship, that I have lately, with very little delicacy, been obliged to appear before a Turkish judge, to answer, whether I would or would not oblige myself personally for the payment of this debt, although I had intimated to them the steps your Lordship had taken to obtain their indemnification of the court of Spain. As their conduct in this was certainly irregular, I thought it for his Majesty's dignity to answer, that no such demand could legally exist after the treaty of peace signed by Mr Cleveland, by the last article of which it was provided, that no claims from the subjects of either power, preceding that day, should be included or required, but all considered as satisfied; that if his Majesty had taken any steps towards procuring them indemnification, it proceeded purely from his love of justice, and sense of the affection borne to him by this government; and that his Majesty would continue his endeavours, from these principles only, so

† The following thirteen letters relate to Mr Bruce's consulship at Algiers, and are mostly addressed to Lord Halifax, then secretary of state for the southern department. As they are written in a spirited manner, and exhibit a view of the character of their author in the only public situation which he ever held, it is hoped, that no further apology is necessary for inserting them in this place. They contain an account of his "apprenticeship to dangers" among barbarians.

long as they, on their part, behaved with that respect and decency due to his commissioners. I have since heard nothing of their claim, which, however, will be most certainly revived. I am only vexed, that it has had an influence on the present intended for his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose horses are not such as were at first intended; the best being picked out, and sent to the King of Sweden. Commodore Harrison, who has been here these three weeks, and very honourably received by the Dey, has seen them this day on board a ship bound for Portsmouth. I cannot mention this gentleman without assuring your Lordship, that his behaviour here has been greatly to the honour of the service, and of his country. He proposes to sail this evening for Mahon in the Centurion.

I very humbly beg your Lordship's pardon, if I take the liberty of mentioning my own affairs to your Lordship. Before the sending of troops to Portugal it was his Majesty's intention to attack Ferrol. I was the first that gave in the plans of that place to the Earl of Egremont and Earl of Bute, which were considered by my Lord Howe, then returned on purpose from Basque-road. This, and another very practicable one on the opposite coast of France, were afterwards laid aside, from the necessity of immediately assisting Portugal; but I hope Mr Grenville, then secretary of state, and Mr Wood, my Lord Egremont's secretary, will do me the justice to acknowledge, that, upon a difficulty of landing being proposed, I, from no motive but of forwarding his Majesty's service, offered to fix an ensign upon the landing-place in the first boat that went on shore.

After the invasion of Portugal, and the appearance of things coming to extremities, the attack of Oran, upon this coast, was judged a proper diversion; and, on this account, I accepted of this consulship, hoping that some occasion might present itself of shewing my offer for his Majesty's service. On the conclusion of peace, I received a letter from my Lord Egremont, intimating his Majesty's intention of sending me with commission to Malta, to examine some complaints of Mr Dodsworthy's, the acting consul; and I expected this appointment with greater pleasure, as it gave me an opportunity of passing through Sicily to Malta, from thence to Tunis, and from Tunis to pass to Algiers, by land, in

which journey I hoped to make drawings of the principal antiquities now remaining in the inland country, and some plans and observations upon the principal parts on the coast.

Although this design likewise was laid aside, yet as I know his Majesty's inclination for the arts in general, and architecture in particular, and as I have a very good opportunity to make the material part of this journey still, if the request is a proper one, I should be greatly obliged to your Lordship if you would obtain me his Majesty's permission, and if your Lordship would recommend me, in a letter to the Dey, for his assistance and leave, which will be immediately granted. I am very certain, that, in this journey, I should make a very considerable addition to his Majesty's collection of medals and sculpture, and make designs of ancient architecture, equal in magnificence to any in Italy, till now utterly unknown, and daily suffering from the ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants. In my absence, which will not exceed three months, his Majesty's affairs will be in the hands of a vice-consul, who is very able, and much esteemed.

I should wish to have it in my power to set out in the end of August, or beginning of September. I sincerely beg your Lordship's pardon for mentioning this, if it is any way improper, which, though I confess it is in some measure owing to my curiosity, is still more so, that I may show my attention to what I know is his Majesty's pleasure.

After finishing this journey, and returning to Algier, I shall still farther beg his Majesty's leave to resign this consulship, being induced by my friends to offer myself a candidate for my county next general election.

No. VI.

Consul B. to Commodore Harrison.

SIR, ALGIER, *June* 10. 1764.

I did myself the honour of writing to you by the French men of war, which parted from this three days ago; in that letter I informed you,

that your ship, the Centurion, was scarcely out of sight before the English sailor was released from the confinement in which he had been kept, that he might have no access to you or me during your stay; and that since, he has been very ill treated by his master, for the absurd reason that he had endeavoured to gain his liberty. I likewise informed you, that I had immediately gone to the king, and told him the irregularity of detaining him a slave, contrary to treaty, at a time when we were every day setting his people at liberty, and he professing his friendship to our nation; to which I got no answer, except that if our king would pay for him he might have him, else he should continue a slave. I added, that if you thought proper, or if it was his royal highness the Duke's order to send a frigate to demand him, that you should expose the irregularity of making Englishmen slaves, when the twelfth article of the treaty of peace declared that it was not thereafter lawful to buy or sell any English subjects in Algier; but that he was immediately to be set at liberty: And further, that after mentioning your having freed so many of his subjects at Malta, you should complain of the many irregularities of the Algerine cruizers. This was the substance of my letter to you by way of Genoa, directed to the care of Mr Consul Holford. I informed you, at the same time, of the arrival of the brig with his royal highness's horses, owing to contrary winds; which brig staid here till Wednesday the 6th, when she sailed with a small breeze at east north-east, but which has since continued nearly at east. I acquainted you also, that the morning before she sailed, the Dey sent privately on board a letter to the king, without speaking to me of it before or since, which I take to have been wrote by instigation of the Vakeel Hadje, or intendant of the marine; and that by her I had wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, informing him of the weak state or the Dey, the entire management of every thing by renegadoes, the necessity for supporting our minister here with resolution, and at the same time mentioned the tergiversations about his royal highness's horses; and concluded with the strongest encomiums I could, which indeed I was bound to do, of your proper, manly, and genteel behaviour here, to every person whatever. You will excuse me if I give my opinion, that your letter to Lord Halifax should likewise mention the Dey's weakness, and his subjection to very unworthy favourites, as my letter

has done, in order to prevent the lies that *rascal* may have prevailed on the Dey to write, having any weight in England. This morning, I hear, he asked how I took the refusal of the slave; and he was answered by your friend Hagi Isouf, that I took nothing ill, because I wrote always for instructions to the king; and whatever his majesty was pleased to approve or disapprove, with that I likewise was pleased or displeased. His answer was, will he write to the king about this miserable fellow? I desired Hagi Isouf to acquaint him, that the king's concern was universal, for the poor as for the rich; if possible, more for the poor, as being people that had no other helpers; and that it was my private opinion, the king would insist upon his being delivered up; which indeed I hope he will, for he is detained without a shadow of reason, and it will be a very ugly precedent. So much for business. I have only now to assure you of the affectionate remembrance of the Swedish Consul *, and those friends with whom you was here most frequently, and of all our desires to do you every possible service, if you will give us an opportunity. I have the honour to be always, dear Sir, your very affectionate and obedient humble servant, JAMES BRUCE.

No. VII.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, ALGIER, *June* 20. 1764.

A few days ago, I did myself the honour of writing to your Lordship, viâ Mahon, under cover of Governor Johnston; in which letter I acquainted your Lordship with the very untoward disposition of this government; of their having seized and made a slave an English sailor, cal-

* Mr Brander.

led Roger M'Cormac, formerly belonging to the Hercules ship of war, which sailor the Dey ordered to be delivered up to Commodore Harrison; but being industriously confined in the country, he could not arrive till the Centurion sailed. I have informed your Lordship already, that upon my claiming him, and citing the articles of our treaty, by which no Englishman can be bought or sold at Algier, upon any pretence whatever; that the Dey answered, this does not signify, the king of England must redeem this sailor, otherwise he shall die a slave. I likewise acquainted your Lordship, that the Dey had ordered his surgeon, a Neapolitan, formerly on board an English East Indiaman, to act as British Consul; and that he had in consequence cleared out a ship, and sent her on her voyage without passport, bill of health, payment of consulage, or any other mark of acknowledging me his Majesty's Consul. I wrote besides by the brig that carried his royal highness the Duke of York's horses; but as I delivered my letter to Mr Turner, one of Commodore Harrison's officers, I do not repeat its contents, not doubting of its reaching your Lordship.

Yesterday morning, the English sailor above mentioned came to my house, all cut and mangled, and covered with wounds and bruises; sent in this manner from his master, to show, as he said, that neither his king nor consul, nor yet his wounds, could save him. The Dey's brother, when the fellow came, was accidentally dining with me; I showed him the sailor disfigured, and covered with blood; upon the sight, he declared with great passion, "These are the lessons of renegadoes: no true mussulman ever was capable of so unmanly a piece of barbarity." He had just strength enough to crawl up to me, and fell down, crying out, if you are an Englishman, protect me from these barbarians.

I ordered Mr Richard Ball, his Majesty's surgeon to the factory, to dress his wounds. He apprehends his arm is fractured below the elbow; though, by reason of the very great swelling, he is not positive. I ordered him to be put to bed, and a smart fever immediately followed.

I went immediately to the great secretary, whose house is near mine, and, carrying Mr Ball with me, complained of the usage of the Englishman; I told him of his dangerous situation, and that it was my intention to keep him in my house till he should either die or recover. The secre-

tary was fully persuaded of the justness of my resolution, and regretted the irregular manner in which affairs were conducted towards England.

In the morning the fever was greatly increased, but I had still hopes from the surgeon's skill and attention; when about ten this forenoon, an order arrived from the king, either to pay his ransom, or instantly to give him up, which I have done, ill as he was. The fear, my Lord, that his Majesty might condemn me for an over-hasty measure, that would have brought on some act of violence before his Majesty and your Lordship had time to take the necessary precautions to prevent the clamours of merchants and insurers, was my only motive for this compliance; otherwise I would have protected and defended to the last his Majesty's subject, thus flying under the colours, fatal as this measure might have been to me.

My Lord, since the appointment of a slave to act in room of the Consul his Majesty appointed, I have declined going from home; lest these people might draw me in to some affair capable of misrepresentation, which hitherto has not been in their power. But, my Lord, as I am daily threatened by hints, and as it perhaps will not be in my power to give your Lordship further intelligence, your Lordship, in these circumstances, cannot but pardon the liberty I take in presuming to give you advice. The many favours these people have received from England, according to their opinion, are the result of fear. All other nations pay them an annual tribute from this motive; and they now are endeavouring, by the advice of two renegadoes, to bring England under the same obligation. Commodore Harrison, during his stay here, saw and believed in the conduct of these two people evident signs of their bad intentions; while, at the same time, I shewed him very distinctly the incapacity of Algiers to stand upon any terms, if proper ships were sent against it. It was Mr Harrison's opinion, that two 74 gun ships would reduce it to the terms his Majesty should prescribe, or in two hours destroy it totally. I am satisfied that this opinion is well founded; but if to the two 74 gun ships, two bombs were added for execution, not on the batteries, but on the town, were they rash enough not to comply with his Majesty's requests, (which they will not attempt) two hours would leave them in ruins, void of defence, without one vessel, and a prey to the Spaniards,

who would not fail hereafter to keep them under. There is, besides, an army of rebels, in number above 22,000, now in arms, within three days march of Algier, which would give his Majesty's representations weight, did they need it, which, with those ships, they would not.

The principal heads of redress that would occur, would be the punishment of the two renegadoes. One is named Brahim; he is hasnador or chamberlain: the other's name is Hassan; he is intendant of the marine, and protector of all those who have lately robbed our ships, and insulted our colours; the punishment of the surgeon Paolo Colucci, and of him who has used so barbarously the Englishman above-mentioned; after which, as preliminaries, any stipulation might be added for the security of our commerce. My Lord, if any expostulation be used before ships come, sufficient to enforce these demands, it is to be feared that they will send out their cruizers, and seize a sufficient number of his Majesty's subjects to be hostages against any attack on the town, whom they would threaten with torture and execution, if any violence was used; and it were therefore to be wished that no notice was conveyed of any armament till the ships arrived at Mahon, unless to the Commodore only, that he might draw together his squadron scattered in different stations. My Lord, since the recal of his Majesty's late Consul* at the Dey's instance, we have been treated as subjects not of England, but of Algier; and as, in this country, one minister decides as to liberty and life, I beg your Lordship's pardon if I write too freely, or if I seem to take for granted what is undoubtedly lodged in his Majesty's good pleasure to do, or leave undone. In any other country or settlement, I should not take the liberty, and even now do beg your Lordship's pardon for it, when I affirm, that if this Dey and his two favourites live, there is no other way, but either to abruptly demand satisfaction as above, or defer his explanation till other excesses, more monstrous than these, call upon his Majesty's

* Mr Aspinwall. A letter of the Dey to Secretary Pitt, whom he calls the *Vizir*, has this remarkable passage in it. "My high friend, some time past, John Ford, was a merchant in Algier, whom we desire you will appoint Consul, and send a day the sooner to us, because your Consul in Algier is an obstinate person, and like a b——; and does not regard your affairs," &c. &c.

justice at a time less convenient. At any rate, I beg your Lordship will transmit to me instructions for my behaviour, that with the best intentions I may not incur his Majesty's censure merely from ignorance of his will. I have only to add, that I am well aware, that in an affair of this consequence your Lordship would wish to be satisfied, that there was not in the case any aggression. My very near relation Mr Hamilton had the honour of being your Lordship's secretary in Ireland; I have the pleasure likewise of being a little acquainted with Mr Oswald; of these I hope your Lordship will learn, that I am not likely to make misrepresentations. I have given Commodore Harrison private notice to keep a frigate on this station, that if any attempts be made on our ships, he may run in and carry intelligence either of this or any other violence. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. VIII.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

MY LORD, ALGIER, *July 20th*, 1764.

I had the honour of writing to your Lordship the 20th ult. under cover of the Governor of Gibraltar. A few days after, an opportunity offering, I sent duplicates of the said letters by the same channel.

In that letter, I acquainted your Lordship with the cruel treatment of the English sailor, and with the irregular manner in which the master of a merchant vessel, Duncan, had been dispatched out of this port without bill of health, or any other paper from me. A slave of the Dey's, Paolo Kolucci, acted as British consul, and interdicted me by a formal message from concerning myself in that expedition. The night he embarked, the Dey gave him a letter in Turkish, and a large Algerine ensign. He is, it is said, to return here again; and I cannot but imagine, that he has

a view of turning renegado. Soon after his departure, I received a letter from one Daniel, a merchant in Gibraltar, his owner, desiring I would detain the vessel and secure the funds, but it was too late. This is the second merchant he has thus defrauded.

On the 8th instant, I was informed, that the Dey had sent orders to have all the English passports delivered up. There were then eight vessels in the harbour; five of which had English Admiralty passes, the rest passavants for a limited time; no new checked passports being, it seems, yet issued for Gibraltar or Mahon. In all probability, these three vessels would have been seized, but by accident three large ships appeared in the offing; and a report being spread that they were men of war, the passavants were instantly restored, and I sent the ships immediately away to Gibraltar, to which place they belonged.

Some days after, those ships came in, and proved to be a Dutch frigate, and two large Danes, seeking corn.

But, on the 17th of this month, arrived from Genoa the San Vincentio, John Stephanopoli master, of his Majesty's island Mahon, having a regular written pass, commonly called a passavant, under hand and seal of his Majesty's governor Colonel Johnston, bearing, that he had dispatched the said vessel in search of corn for his Majesty's garrison, under which commission the said vessel and master had once loaded at Ancona, and carried a cargo to Mahon; and after being dispatched a second time to Genoa, failing to find a loading there, he came over to Algiers, intending to seek corn on the coast of Barbary.

The 18th instant, the day after his arrival, the Dey, without communicating his intention any way to me, sent and took his passports from him, and directed the ship and funds on board to be seized and confiscated, the captain and crew stript of every thing, and immediately condemned to slavery. The inclosed petition will show your Lordship that they are treated with more severity than even those Spaniards, their enemies, that fall into their hands.

The captain, from the time of his arrival, was not suffered to come to me, as by every treaty subsisting he ought to have been allowed to do, I therefore went to him at the marine; and, after much scruple, they allowed me to see his papers, which, upon examination, were all perfect-

ly just and regular; upon which I sent my drugoman, with the captain of the port, to the Dey, with my declaration, that the vessel's papers were regular, and the whole was British property. The Dey returned me for answer, that the peace was made in the terms of printed passports, not of written ones, or, as they are called here, passavants, which was false; that he was resolved to seize every vessel that had not an Admiralty pass, both by sea and land, i. e. in port; and if the king of England was not contented, each was at liberty to take the measures pleased him best. I observed to them that this was a defiance, and desired to know if I should write in these terms; to which the admiral answered, yes. Immediately the renegado, intendant of the marine, ordered the captain to be seized and carried on board the vessel, where the colours were struck, in a manner, according to the captain's information, too insolent to repeat; upon which I left them, having done every thing in my power to dissuade them from such violence.

I hear there were some that ventured to prophecy that mischief would follow this seizure; but the king, to show he had no apprehension, and was the first to set the example, ordered the spying glass to be brought to him as his first part of the plunder. I send your Lordship a copy of the contract of sale of the vessel made before the British Consul of Genoa, Mr Holford; by which your Lordship will see that there is no chicane nor dissimulation, but that the vessel is *bona fide* British property. I intended to have sent a copy of the passport, but that is in the Dey's possession, and has been refused to me. I can only say, that this pass of the governor's is as full and regular as any I have ever seen; and bears, that this vessel, wherever it touched, was for account of his Majesty's garrison at Mahon, then labouring under want of provision. I cannot, in justice to the unfortunate master of the vessel, whose name (Stephanopoli) is that of an alien, omit observing, that he was one of those few people established at Mahon who continued in their allegiance, and served in the siege of St Philip till the surrender of that place and island; and then left Mahon, and never returned till his Majesty's forces again took possession of it; during which time he was constantly in our service, particularly three years on board the Monmouth man of war, and

in that action wherein she took the Foudroyant. His brother, I am told, the person named Teodoraci, in Mr Holford's certificate at the end of the contract of sale, who is part owner of the vessel, is at present product master, as it is called, of Mahon, a place given him as a reward for the good services of his family.

As early, my Lord, as August 1763, a vessel belonging to Mahon with a passavant, was taken by a Salletine cruizer, and brought in here with a view of being condemned; but as I heard his Majesty's consul at Tetuan was then absent, which indeed he too often is, considering the nature of his service, and that there is no other consul in Morocco, assisted by my friends in government, I not only hindered its condemnation here or its going to Tetuan, which was the proposed alternative, but likewise procured it to be taken by force out of the Salletine's hands, and sent to continue its voyage to Mahon. At that time, my Lord, I wrote as pressingly as in my present place one decently can to the Earl of Egremont, then secretary of state, explaining the danger of these written passes, and begging his Lordship, as it was a work of no time, to order immediately Mediterranean passports to be issued for Mahon and Gibraltar. I likewise wrote to his Lordship the whole state of the Oran demand; but I received no answer to either. I then wrote at length to Mr Joseph Richardson in his Lordship's office, in substance nearly what I had wrote to my Lord Egremont. This gentleman wrote me he had communicated my letter to his Lordship, but it would seem no passports have been issued, as I have not seen here from Mahon any thing but passavants from Gibraltar, and I think but two passports from Mahon. But although, my Lord, it be in general true what has been alleged by the government relating to this prize, that there is no mention of the passavants in their treaty, yet this cannot conclude any thing against the validity and legality of such papers. Passavant is a term which is not English, and will not therefore be found in our treaties; the word used in the articles of our peace, is *proper passes*, under which are certainly comprehended these written passports, which are so certainly proper, that there are exigencies in which they are more regular than any others. Suppose such an accident as Mahon or Gibraltar falling into the enemy's hands; or even at

the end of a war, many passports must have fallen into their power, which may by them be distributed among hands not qualified to bear them. In this case (and it is the present one) a passport, under the hand and seal of a governor newly come, whether of Mahon or Gibraltar, must be the most authentic and unexceptionable evidence of British property, till such time as new passports, with a different check, are issued, and render evident the deceit carried on under cover of the old ones.

Another case will occur to your Lordship, that renders these written passports (or, as they are called by foreigners, passavants), necessary: if one of his Majesty's subjects buy a vessel in a foreign port, say Algiers, how is that vessel, which is British property, to get to Mahon or Gibraltar, where only she can receive her Mediterranean pass? The consul, your Lordship knows, can give no Mediterranean pass, he must then give a written temporary one, which is a passavant. Were she to go without papers, she is every body's prize; if she goes with false ones, they seize her here; how is it possible in this manner that a ship can escape, or that a merchant can be safe in his purchase?

Although, then, it be allowed, that passavants are not mentioned in our treaties, yet proper passes are, and those certainly must be allowed to be proper, which, in the first supposition, can alone prevent evasions of our act of navigation, and, in the second, are so necessary, that without them no purchase of vessels can be made from foreigners.

But, though the constant neglect of the Oran demand from 1757 to the present time is the pretext for this ill humour, and the difference between passports printed and written, is the pretext for gratifying it, your Lordship may be assured from me, that the drift of this government is of another kind than the regulating of this particular; for had this been the object, it would have struck them long ago, as the Dey himself has freighted for his own account many vessels, both of Mahon and Gibraltar, with passavants, rather than trust to the regular papers of any other Crown. Their true intention, which they had begun to pursue before the Spanish war, was to make every power who had a consul here tributary to them, and they have accomplished their end with every one but his Majesty and the Emperor. I am told it has been insinuated by the

French, that we are both now so exhausted with the late war, that every thing is possible, if attempted. They have begun with Great Britain, by the series of oppressions and violations of treaties, part of which only I have wrote to your Lordship; and, on the 15th instant, an Imperial vessel, many days in port unmolested, was seized and confiscated suddenly by order of the government, the ship and cargo sold, and the people made slaves. The consul went and remonstrated to the Dey against this act of violence, who, with his own hand, beat him very severely, and it was by flying out of his presence, that he escaped perhaps a more tragical misfortune.

On the 18th, war was declared against the Emperor: and some Tuscan sailors and passengers arriving on board a French vessel, were, contrary to all law and custom, taken out from under the neutral colours, and made slaves without any resistance on the part of the French. The Imperial consul is ordered to leave this place in eight days, but first to pay, under various pretences, about £3000 Sterling to this State, under certification of being put in chains, and in the stone carts. If any thing can add to the irregularity of the proceeding, it is, that this peace of the Imperialists is guaranteed by the Grand Signior.

My Lord, as orders are issued to seize every vessel navigating with written papers; as this is the season when they all come here for corn; as there are no less than sixteen expected, most of which I believe have no other papers, and, as I am informed, there are in all thirty in the Mediterranean under these circumstances, I have thought it my duty to dispatch Dr Ball, his Majesty's surgeon to this factory, express to your Lordship, being the only person in whom I can confide. I have, by him, wrote to Mahon, to the several Consuls in the Mediterranean, to stop any such ships destined to Algiers, and have wrote, unfortunately without answer, to Commodore Harrison to send down a frigate, which may cruise for these ships off this port, and turn them back from their destruction. I hope his Majesty will approve of this step, the only one possible to save the Mediterranean trade, for your Lordship may depend upon it, that if once the cruizers go out, their search for papers and prizes will be more irregular than is perhaps apprehended.

The Spanish cruizers are all now out, and this will keep these vessels in for about a month more, and will give his Majesty so much time to come to a resolution, and I sincerely pray it may not be the fatal one of a previous negociation.

My Lord, in this country of murder, chains, and torture, your Lordship will not expect me to be more explicit than I am as to measures. I am not certain but that the Doctor will be stopped, and my letters seized to-morrow. For my poor opinion in every thing not written, your Lordship may give credit to Dr Ball in what he says from me; he has long served his Majesty in Flanders and America, and from his behaviour here, deserves every commendation I can give him. I beg your Lordship will order the payment of his expences upon his arrival, and I hope some encouragement may further be given him. I was just finishing the letter to your Lordship, when word is brought me, that this morning early, the master of the above mentioned vessel, and the supercargo, were carried before the Dey, and in order to extort a confession if they had secreted any effects, were bastinadoed over the feet and loins in such a manner as the blood gushed out, and then loaded with heavy chains: the captain, it is thought, cannot recover. I have likewise received from a friend some insinuations, that I am in danger, and advice to fly; but as it was not the prospect of pay, or want of fortune, that induced me to accept of this employment, so I will not abandon it from fears, or any motives unworthy a gentleman. One brother has this war already had the honour of dying in his Majesty's service, two more are still in it, and all I hope is, if any accident befal me, as is hourly probable, his Majesty will be favourable to the survivors of a family that has always served him faithfully. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. IX.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, Algier, *July* 25. 1764.

Having charged Dr Ball with dispatches to your Lordship, and found an English vessel to carry him to Mahon, the vessel sailed out of this port the 22d, at nine in the morning. About twelve it had made a considerable offing, in distance about ten miles, when a boat with Moors on board overtook it, and one Turk, captain of the port, told the Doctor, that it was the Dey's order, he immediately came on board his launch. Mr Ball answered, that having the King's commission, and a passport from the Consul, and being dispatched on his Majesty's service, he would obey no such order. The Turk replied, that he would force him to comply, and remonstrated how fruitless any resistance would be. Mr Ball answered, that there were in the vessel people sufficient to repel force with force if it was offered, and desired to know if the captain of the port had any commission, and that he would show it; the other said he had none but a verbal one. The Doctor asked him where his colours were, and how it was that, without commission or colours, he had boarded an English vessel at sea, with her proper ensign flying, and, at mid-day pretended to force a King's officer from under the colours of his nation, and going upon his Majesty's service. The captain of the port said, he had his orders, and declared to the master of the vessel that he would make him a slave and seize the vessel, if he did not oblige the Doctor to go on board the launch, which, from fear of this menace, he was obliged to do. Mr Ball finding himself abandoned, was forced to comply, and was thereupon taken into the launch, and forcibly brought on shore. As the boat had been seen a long time before it came on board, the Doctor had delivered the dispatches to the mate of the vessel to throw them overboard; which, upon the ship's being boarded, it is imagined he did. But not being allowed time to speak to any body, and being hurried into the boat, he is not certain, nor knows to what port the ship steered.

I have remonstrated against this proceeding very ineffectually; so have all the great Turks in government; but to no purpose; the Dey declaring, that he will not suffer me to write or send till all the vessels without passports are confiscated.

Yesterday orders were given to break up the vessel lately belonging to Mahon, though almost new, which have been executed with great speed, so that not a plank is now left together. Your Lordship will see by this, that their resolution is to preclude themselves even from the possibility of restitution.

The same day it was proposed, in the Dey's presence, to give my vice-consul, (Mr Forbes) a 1000 bastinadoes, to extort from him a confession of the contents of my papers. He is now fled to my house for protection, where he continues, being much troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; a 100 bastinadoes would kill him, nor could he satisfy them in a single syllable, as I have never, in writing or copying letters to your Lordship, used any hand but my own; and it being now come to that time in which I cannot expect long to be at liberty, I no longer can venture to preserve copies, so beg your Lordship will pardon the variation in such letters as are intended for diplomas, as the difference will never be material.

No. X.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, Algier, *August* 20. 1764.

After receipt of mine of the 15th instant, your Lordship will be surprised to see another letter from Algier*. The morning after I got the orders to leave this place, I freighted a ship to carry me to Mahon; and

* The letter of the 15th August informed Lord H. that Mr Bruce had received orders to leave Algiers.

remained all day after in the house settling my affairs. In the evening I had a very unexpected visit from the King's brother, who, it is thought, will be his successor in the government. His conversation, however, was entirely on indifferent subjects, only on parting he desired I would put myself to no further expence about removing, as it was not possible I could be allowed to go. The next day was Friday, the day when the Divan is always assembled, when I went to my country house to finish my packing up, and the gates of the town being shut, I was ignorant of what was passing. After their prayers, the whole of the great officers went to the king, and openly declared to him, that the dismissing of me was a matter of too great consequence to be determined without their consent; all of them put him in mind of the constant good behaviour of the English, and of their inability to resist our force, and the impossibility of thinking of peace after I was gone. They each from their own good intentions spoke favourably of me, particularly one principal man of the marine, who declared to the king, that of the four-and-forty Rais's, or Captains of the Navy, all, except five, had sworn not to go to sea if I went away; and they all exhorted the Dey to give the king satisfaction upon those who had advised him to a measure so detrimental to the country. The Dey was struck with a violent panic at so unexpected an application, and immediately sent a message to me, and after that a second; but as I was afraid, at the instigation of his slaves, he might abuse me, as he had done so very lately the Imperial Consul, I excused myself from going to him. In the afternoon, his Drugoman came to me with a very particular request from him, that I would not take to heart the Wednesday's orders to leave Algiers; he said the Dey confessed he was old, and had been ill advised; desired I would only stay till they had settled the affairs with England as to passports, as well as they could, by peace or war, and he would behave to me as a father to a son.

Two hours I positively refused staying, but his brother coming in the evening, and assuring me the Dey's intentions were sincere, I at last consented to stay till the king's orders should be known, making really a virtue of necessity, as certainly it was resolved, at all events, to prevent my retreat by force, if by fair means they could not prevail. Luckily the vessel that has my last on board is yet in the bay, though under sail,

and I have hopes that this may reach her. My Lord, this is the time to establish his Majesty's affairs here; and if here, through all Barbary, on a lasting foundation. The present favourable intentions will in a few days subside, and more violent measures be adopted than ever, when they see no reason of fear; and therefore I hope your Lordship will prevail on his Majesty to send few ships, but large, and I will answer for their success. The names of the delinquents whom it may please your Lordship to specify in any letter, which may be wrote to the Dey for satisfaction, are Hassan the Renegado, Intendant of the Marine; Ussein, Captain of the Port; Hagi Mahomet, a Tripoline; and Paolo Colucci, a slave, by much the most culpable of the whole. These it will be necessary to punish, if ever we are to be at peace in Algiers. Restitution of the effects of the Mahonese, who is still in chains, and some additions to, and explanations of our present treaties, will then come of course; and I hope it may not be construed as forwardness, if I say these particulars will be better trusted to me than to any sea officers whom his Majesty may send, who are not acquainted with the customs and abuses of this country. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. XI.

Lord Halifax to Consul B.

SIR, ST JAMES'S, *September*, 18. 1764.

I have received all your letters, the last of which is of the 14th of August. I regularly laid them before the king, and I hope very soon to be able to acquaint you of his Majesty's determination and commands

upon the very interesting contents of them. In the mean time, you will assure the Dey and his ministers, that no new passports have been sent out, and when new ones are ordered to be prepared, which is intended to be done immediately, they cannot, without distressing the trade, take place for a considerable time; and of which timely notice will be given. You will also take the first and most convenient opportunity of writing to all his Majesty's consuls upon the Barbary coast, that they may prevent, in time, the effects such ill-grounded reports may have upon the trade of his Majesty's subjects in those parts.

I cannot close my letter without giving you the satisfaction of knowing, that the prudent and judicious manner in which you have conducted yourself throughout the whole of the disagreeable circumstances you relate in your several letters, and the measures you took to prevent the ill consequences that might have resulted from them, have met with the king's gracious approbation; and it is not doubted but you will continue to exert your utmost diligence and abilities for his Majesty's service.

I have not omitted to lay your request before the king, and shall not fail to provide for your return to England as soon as it can be done consistently with the good of his Majesty's service. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DUNK HALIFAX.

No. XII.

Mr Wood to Consul Bruce.

DEAR SIR, LONDON, *October* 26. 1764.

I am favoured with your very obliging letter of the 11th June, by Mr Ball. I went immediately to Lord Halifax to support, as far as I could, your views of three months absence, which you had desired of his Lord-

ship; and, in short, to procure his indulgence in whatever shape you might stand. I find his Lordship so favourably disposed towards you, that it became needless to press him on that head; he showed me your letter, which he complimented highly; and told me, that he was very ready to come into any request you had to make. I have not seen his Lordship since, but I am told at his office, where I called, that you have desired to come away, and that leave is sent you for that purpose since I was there. As by this means I shall probably have the pleasure of seeing you in a few months, I shall postpone till then any remarks upon the alarming conduct of the Dey, who, on his part has, I find, made out a story, which the Secretary of State will be cautious of giving credit to, till he has your comment upon it.

I beg leave to return my thanks for the honour you intended me in the dedication of your work, and that you will be assured, I am thoroughly sensible of the value of that compliment, which I shall willingly accept of, if I cannot persuade you, when we meet, of the propriety of a different choice; but of this more when I have the pleasure of seeing you. Strange told me, that he thought it would satisfy public curiosity, and do you credit, though Count Gazzoli should publish his account of the same place, which I am told is very doubtful. I wish you an agreeable journey home, from whatever place this finds you in. I am, with a thorough sense of your too favourable way of thinking of me, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT WOOD.

No. XIII.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, Algiers, *November* 3. 1764.

I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 18th of September with the greatest satisfaction, as your Lordship therein does me the

honour to signify his Majesty's gracious approbation of my conduct in my late disagreeable situation. Your Lordship may depend upon it, that if I am guilty of any error, it is from want of ability, not of inclination, for an attention to his Majesty's service.

I immediately intimated to the Dey, as your Lordship ordered, that passports would be ordered immediately, but that it would require still a considerable time before they could all be circulated. He seemed to hear it with little attention, like a thing upon which he had already come to a resolution, or been already informed, which last was probably the case, as your Lordship's letter plainly appeared to be taken from under the cover before it came to my hands. He asked me abruptly, were we going to war with France or Spain. I said I did not know, but thought it improbable. If you are not going to war with either, says he, what is the destination of a fleet of large ships, now ready to sail under command of the king's brother? I told him, I was entirely ignorant both of the equipment of that fleet and its destination, as I was indeed of every thing of public affairs not relating to my own department. I saw he did not believe me, and I left him, and went to intimate the contents of your Lordship's letter to one Hagi Mahomet, his principal counsellor in all public affairs. This Turk, with great moderation, said he would explain this to the Dey, to whom he had often lamented the violent measures with regard to England. He thereupon went to the Dey, and in the evening I returned to his house, to know the answer, and, with the utmost surprise, saw every thing preparing as for a journey. What had passed in the interview he did not choose to tell me, only, that after leaving the Dey, the renegado Hassan had come to his house, with this intimation, that the Dey had no occasion for his advice or assistance in governing his kingdom; and therefore commanded him instantly to leave Algiers, with certification, if he were not out of the kingdom the third day, he should surely die. He desired me to mention our affairs no more to any of the government, for it was only destroying our own innocent men, after the example the Dey had made of his own brother, and of himself, the Dey's companion for forty years; that I should wait the arrival of a fleet, which he heard was immediately expected in the Mediterranean, at which time only any Turk would venture to speak of our

affairs. He has now sailed for Alexandria, to the utmost regret of the Algerines, who all looked upon him as the father of the country, or something more than human.

Next day the Honourable Captain Stewart, in his Majesty's ship the Lively, sailed from this bay, and, according to custom, sent word that he intended waiting upon the Dey, and receiving his commands. The Dey refused to see him, and returned for answer, if he had any business with him, he might leave it with the consul. I cannot avoid mentioning to your Lordship, that, though this unexpected and unprecedented message was delivered to Captain Stewart very abruptly, he had the prudence to make no reply, nor testify, by word or gesture, any sign of resentment.

My Lord, affairs are come to this crisis: The Algerines have formed their plan, pursue it steadily, and have made all further expostulation impossible; and I humbly apprehend no alternative remains, but either by appearance of force, to shew them this scheme is impracticable, or put ourselves upon the footing of other nations.

Nor is it the arrival of a fleet only that will have the effect to put his Majesty's affairs upon a lasting footing of quiet. They will, it is true, immediately make restitution, and desire a renewal of friendship, and if we are contented with that, the fleet will scarcely be disarmed, until they anew begin acts of violence, till constant equipments on our part, without any product but constant verbal submissions on theirs, will, they hope, in time, make us prefer a moderate annual expence to an excessive one, so often as they please to provoke us to it. Therefore, my Lord, I should humbly hope, besides restitution and reparation, that the expence of the armament might be insisted upon. They really are not in a condition for refusals. This, on our part, would be such a lasting mark of superiority, and, on theirs, so distinct a one of mal-administration, that no Dey for the future, would hazard measures that might bring such serious consequences on his country. They are, my Lord, very capable of affording this: In the treasury in Algiers only, there are said to be contained thirty-five millions sterling in specie, besides an immense amount in jewels and plate.

But if it were his Majesty's pleasure his Royal Highness should come hither with a fleet, there is a much more proper species of indemnification than that above mentioned, of more consequence to the nation in peace or war, which will much more readily be complied with by Algiers, and which is attended with certain circumstances in favour of liberty, that make it perfectly proper for the first expedition of a prince.

This is the cession of the island of Tabarca to Britain, the subject of the memorial inclosed, wherein I have set down imperfectly the advantages attending the possession of it. It has been offered, by Algiers, to several powers, and they have differed upon small sums. It is of no sort of profit to the Algerines at present. The above your Lordship may depend upon, as it is the result of many conversations with the commissary of Tabarca, now a slave here, and who is under obligations to me, though he knows not what use is to be made of his information*.

If, upon perusal, it can be of any service, I have my reward. If the contrary, your Lordship will be so good to excuse the trouble given you, from the goodness of the intention.

I beg leave to offer your Lordship my most humble thanks for having laid my request for leave to resign, before his Majesty, and for the promise of providing for my return, as soon as consistently it can be done with his Majesty's affairs. Very disagreeable as my situation is, I am very sensible these present troubles had better be discussed during my stay than taken up by my successor, who probably may propose to stay a term of years; and, therefore, I beg leave to declare myself entirely at his Majesty's disposal, only hope your Lordship will remember my request to have liberty before I resign, and after these affairs are settled, to visit Tunis and some antiquities in the inland parts of the country, which will not require above two months. My vice-consul is exceedingly capable, understands the language, is well esteemed by every body in government, and I will answer for his conduct in my absence.

* These papers are preserved, and give a minute account of the island.

No. XIV.

Consul B. to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, Algiers, *Nov.* 29. 1764.

Since my letter of the 3d inst. I have not had either opportunity or cause to write to your Lordship.

Yesterday a private message was sent to me by the Intendant of the Marine, whom I have had but too often occasion to mention to your Lordship. The repeated accounts of an armament in England, and its destination for the Mediterranean, has produced so much discontent and murmuring against his conduct, that at last it has obliged him to think of his danger, and to have recourse against it to his Majesty's generosity.

He confessed freely, that it was upon his suggestion the first resolution of seizing vessels with passavants was taken, and that the St Vincentio was made a prize of and broken to pieces; but that being apprehensive the Dey would not immediately consent to this measure, it was agreed to conceal the circumstance of her having any passavant, and to produce only a written paper, which was a certificate of the master's good behaviour on board a ship of war; that the slave Colucci, Ussein, captain of the port, and himself, were alone privy to this, and kept it perfectly a secret from the king till the ship was broke to pieces, and he prepared by degrees to give orders for a general seizure of all such vessels. And, in order to discover their place whence and whether they were bound, a correspondence was set on foot between Colucci and one Brass, partner to the English consul at Majorca, who, in consideration of some benefits the Dey was to allow him in trade, was to discover all such ships' destinations. He desired me to interpose, and stop any further questions upon this affair, and offered to cause the captain, crew, and cargo, to be instantly delivered to me.

As your Lordship's letter of the 18th of September bears that your Lordship will soon signify to me his Majesty's commands upon the pre-

sent state of affairs, I could only take upon me to answer as civilly as possible, that the offences of late committed against his Majesty, besides being unprovoked, were of the most serious nature: That, besides the treatment of the St Vincentio, a courier to his Majesty had been intercepted, and his consul ordered to leave the kingdom, besides many other aggravations: That, as these offences were immediate to the dignity of the king, and now under consideration, it would be in me very great presumption, not having his Majesty's orders, to begin a private treaty, or to accept of any partial satisfaction. I recommended to him to keep in these good dispositions till your Lordship signified the king's commands, either to Mr Harrison or to myself, only assured him, that his Majesty's goodness was such, that sincere repentance, however late, could not but produce a good effect.

In the evening I was sent for to the Aga, under pretence of concerting a party to hunt the wild boar. He insinuated much the Dey's desire for peace, and spoke of the armament, declaring, that he never would fight against England, but, upon our fleet's arrival, would mount his horse, and retire, with 2000 spahis, to the mountains. I answered him nearly in the same words as I did the Intendant of the marine, complimenting him in particular, indeed with great reason, upon his steady affection to our country, which I promised to represent to his Majesty; with which last assurance he was so well pleased, that he ordered two fine Arabian horses to be brought and given me, but I positively excused my acceptance of any present at this time, that I might keep myself free from all obligation, and I hope even from misrepresentation.

Thus, my Lord, every thing is kept open for his Majesty's resolutions, without one step being taken that may anticipate them whatever they are. The Christian slave is obstinate; the Turks are inclined to comply with the king's pleasure: the former is certainly a proper example. I attend with impatience your Lordship's instructions, which I shall immediately and strictly comply with.

I beg leave, my Lord, to put your Lordship in mind of my repeated request of leave to make a journey through part of this country, for two months, before I resign my consulship, leaving my affairs in the hands of my vice-consul, who is very capable. I have been at very considerable

expence and trouble in making preparations for it, and it was one of my motives for coming into Africa. I earnestly request your Lordship not to disappoint me. I begged Mr Wood in a letter, several months since, to mention this to your Lordship personally, lest, in a multitude of business, it might be forgot. I have not as yet been favoured with a return, owing probably to his being out of town. But as I hope your Lordship thinks, from my attention to late transactions, I am not wholly unworthy of such a small vacation, so I know it not to be unprecedented. Mr Dick, consul at Leghorn, received this permission while I was in Italy, though his journey had no other motive but that of pleasure, and I hope mine will not be unprofitable to the arts. There is, in this country, ruinous architecture enough to compose two considerable volumes. If, after obtaining this leave of absence, I could obtain another favour from your Lordship, I should beg that I might have the honour to dedicate the first volume to the king, and that, from your Lordship's further goodness, I might have liberty to inscribe the second volume to your Lordship.

No. XV.

Consul Bruce to Lord Halifax.

My Lord, Algier, *April* 24. 1765.

The last letter I had the honour to receive from your Lordship was of the 3d of November. The last I wrote to your Lordship, was of the 5th of this present month. In it I acquainted your Lordship with a letter being arrived from that incendiary, Duncan*, declaring, by your Lordship's orders, that it was his Majesty's pleasure, the Algerines should seize, and make prizes and slaves of all ships and persons navigating

* The Dey's agent, then in England. Vide No. VIII. of this Appendix.

with passports, though these passes were received, *bona fide*, as regular, from his Majesty's governor of Mahon and Gibraltar, upon whom, not upon the ignorant mariners, I hoped any reproof might have fallen, if these papers were irregular, and without the bounds of their duties and instructions. I advised your Lordship of the sail of cruisers immediately upon this intelligence, and of the consequences likely to follow. Providence has taken care of these poor ignorant wretches, who else, without any delinquency, would, by the fault of his Majesty's servants in the Mediterranean, have been, with their families, exposed to slavery and ruin, while navigating securely under our colours, given them by the greatest British authority in these seas. Of the four xebeques belonging to the government, three, on the night of the 11th, struck upon the coast of Barbary, near Mellilla, and are, with a great part of their crews, utterly lost. The fourth has likewise struck, and is much damaged, so that the whole maritime force of this regency is reduced to two xebeques of twenty guns, one of which is falling to pieces with age; the other now returns half foundered, and they have not a hundred square feet of oak in their yards. Of the three small xebeques, belonging to private people, which I advised your Lordship did likewise sail, two are returned, and one is taken by the Spaniards. This, my lord, is the state of their marine at present.

On the 16th arrived Duncan from Barcelona, and had an immediate audience of the Dey. He confirms himself the contents of his letter, of which I gave your Lordship notice in my last, of the 5th April. He has repeated the contents of various conversations with your Lordship, the Duke of Bedford, and Sir Richard Lyttleton, so uniformly and circumstantially told, that, from a person of his shallow capacity, I confess it astonished me much, nor could I reconcile it with the ideas I always have had of the regularity with which public business was usually conducted in one channel. But it has had the most serious effect to dispose this regency again to violence; and though the restitution of the Mahonese vessel's funds and mariners, has been at sundry times offered to Commodore Harrison and me, and, out of respect to your Lordship, not accepted without your Lordship's orders, I now apprehend, that hardly any satisfaction will be obtained by any who may come with orders to demand it.

My Lord, among the several victims your Lordship is said to intend to offer to appease the Dey, is Captain Dent, of the Deal Castle, now of the Montreal frigate. He came here by desire of Colonel Mackeller, commander in chief at Mahon, after Mr Ball the surgeon was forcibly seized and brought on shore, with the dispatches which he brought to your Lordship in August. His crime is, not having received a letter from the Dey to Commodore Harrison.

My Lord, justice obliges me to bear this testimony in favour of Captain Dent, whom I never saw but that hour in my life, while I was on board the Deal Castle. There came on board a boat with a letter, the superscription of which was English; no one came on board; the letter was handed in by Captain Dent's servant, who brought it into the cabin, nor was it ever said to come from the king. Mr Dent's answer was, that he was going to Cadiz, and thence to Lisbon, with a freight of money, and should not see the Commodore for three months, but that he had sailed from Genoa in his way hither, where, in effect, he soon after arrived. This, my Lord, is all that passed. It was not in private, but in the presence of four or five gentlemen, all yet alive, who, when it shall please your Lordship, will confirm this simply, whatever colouring and aggravation it may elsewhere have received. My Lord, I never gave a passavant in my life; I never indorsed a false passport, nor ever received even the ordinary dues of my office. It is now eighteen months since I have sent home a state of the Mediterranean papers, and have, at very considerable expence, stifled many little affairs which another would perhaps have brought immediately before your Lordship. But when I found violences systematically succeed each other; when every vessel brought complaints of the robberies of cruisers who had not courage to seek an enemy; when I found his Majesty's natural born subjects and sailors detained in slavery contrary to treaty, beat, wounded, and in irons; when a vessel, declared by his Majesty's governor of Mahon to be his Majesty's subjects' property, was, contrary to the practice towards French, Tuscans, and other nations whose vessels are always upon doubts sequestrated till orders come from court—broke to pieces and burnt, her master cruelly beat and put in irons, her funds confiscated, her sailors made slaves, and treated with more inhumanity than the Spaniards; when a courier, dispatched to your

Lordship, was forcibly taken from under the colours of his nation, and his Majesty's consul ordered away in the immediate execution of his duty; all I did was to have recourse to your Lordship, to state the facts simply, to give your Lordship an account of the force and disposition of the delinquents, and the state of the papers which were the excuses for their delinquency, and, after laying the whole before your Lordship, constantly desired your Lordship's correction and instruction. My Lord, I never expostulated with the Dey but on receiving your Lordship's letters, and then in public before his whole council. There is not one word I ever said that cannot be vouched by every Christian in Algier. I begged your Lordship's leave to take a small journey for three months before I resigned the consulship, satisfied, that if, upon settling these affairs, I returned immediately, I should be considered as recalled for misbehaviour. The consequence has justified my apprehensions, and your Lordship will see, by the inclosed affidavit, how unworthily I am treated while staying by express command of his Majesty for his service.

My Lord, as I have no intelligence from England but the very disagreeable news which Mr Duncan brings, I have only to intreat most humbly his Majesty's permission to resign immediately, that I may have an opportunity of justifying myself to his Majesty, not to the Dey of Algiers.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

No. XVI.

Mr Bruce to his Excellency Captain Cleveland.

SIR, GARDEN, *June* 23. 1765, *half past five.*

I received the honour of yours of this date, the very instant I now write. You will please to remember, that when I did myself the plea-

sure to wait upon you on board the Phœnix*, you was pleased to inform me, that it was your intention to have several conversations with me upon the king's affairs. It would perhaps have been more proper than to have given so immediate a requisition for this only; I have waited, by immediate orders from his Majesty, since the 3d of November, 1764, notwithstanding my repeated intreaties to be recalled, and the immediate obligation I had to solicit my election in Parliament.

Short as the warning is, I should be sorry if ever I could be taken so unawares, as not to be able to give an account of my behaviour in the department it has pleased his Majesty to intrust me with; though, having acted according to the best of my judgment, and having by letters, at your service when you call upon them, received the sanction of his Majesty's approbation, I am very far from believing myself liable to be called to account for such behaviour, otherwise than legally before a tribunal in my own country.

I am no longer under the protection of his Majesty's commission, yet I am called upon to maintain the several complaints of infringements of treaties which I have made while his Majesty's minister. As this is the king's pleasure, I accept it willingly, because such service has in it danger, can be attended with no advantage to me, and as I am in no ways obliged to do it, it can therefore arise from nothing but a desire to serve him.

[Ten articles of grievances follow, with proofs, the same in substance with those mentioned in the preceding letters, but arranged under the articles of treaty as violations.]

These are the complaints which your Excellency mentions are to be the subject of to-morrow's audience; they are stated in a very indistinct manner, the shortness of the time given me obliging me to write far in the night. In the mean time, I beg leave to mention to your Excellency, that, to prevent all possibility of my escaping censure, if these facts are false or misrepresented; or if true, that I may have it in my power to vindicate myself, as occasion may offer; that your Excellency would confess or deny these articles to be as they are stated, as, from some passages in

* The ship in which Capt. C. arrived.

my letters already communicated to very unworthy people, and from your Excellency having made me the only Christian in Algier to whom you have returned no visit, I am led to believe, if I could entertain such a suspicion, that your inquiry is rather pointed at me, than at the grievances of the nation.

No. XVII*.

*Consul Bruce to Mr S. P. C*****.*

Sir,

I received your letter, unjustly attempting to shift an account, to which you shall come here or in Europe. You are not a native of Great Britain, and from that, I suppose, you claim an indulgence of not understanding the language of the country, otherwise you would not write me such nonsense, " of your head's being in danger." I said, and now repeat it to you, that if you do not furnish me an account, or if you furnish a false one, the consequences will fall on yourself, or, as it is oftener called, upon your head. The consequences of false accounts, Mr C——,

* This letter, which is very characteristic of Mr Bruce's manner of speaking and behaving on similar occasions, is inserted to illustrate the assertions made in the Life, respecting his open contempt of dishonesty, and the opposition which he met with on that account. It is addressed to an Irish merchant, who acted as vice-consul at Algiers, from the time of the death of Mr Ford till the arrival of Mr Bruce. C. as interim-consul, had been employed to recover, through the interposition of the Algerines, the price of a cargo of corn sold to the regency of Tunis, for a poor widow in England, to whose husband the corn had belonged. Mr Bruce considered the charges made by C. for presents to the courtiers, commission, &c. as exorbitant and fraudulent, especially as C. refused to name the persons to whom the presents were given, and shewed an inclination to retain the money in his own hands, or to pay only what he chose.

are not capital, but whatever they are, do not brave them. Remember what your behaviour has been to his Majesty's consul, and to every British subject here in Algiers. In consideration of your family, I give you warning not to begin shuffling with me.

Send me your account fairly wrote out, with every name and date to it, that I may inquire if these presents were really given, otherwise I will adjudge you to pay the whole 8567 shillings, and will make you pay it. You told me you had given the treasurer 1000 sequins; you have now brought it down to 1000 zermaboubs. Whatever it was, it was well bestowed. What, are you afraid of naming any body else after you have so frankly named the most powerful man in the kingdom under the Dey? Those to whom you have given money in Mrs H——'s name must have been people that could do service in the cause. If they are such as could do service, if it was in their department to do service, I will allow you the reasonable present. The delicacy you express for not mentioning names is here out of season, Mr C. Nobody, we know, will work for you out of love; they must be paid for it, for they have no esteem for you. These presents are their pay. If they did the widow service in proportion to their present, considering the manner of your dealing, they deserve it; but I will not suffer presents made to distress his Majesty's consul, presents made to send away his chancellor, nor these made for *tiskeras** to carry corn to Spain, to be charged upon Mrs H——. One article of a present you mentioned to my drugoman, with the name to it. Are you more delicate with me than with my drugoman? You insist, that if my executors were to dispute the receipt of Mrs H——'s money, you would be obliged to pay it again. Your *insisting*, as you call it, is nonsense, Mr C——. You have my receipt. The widow's money was not an hour in my house; it is in safe hands, and in neither case have my executors any thing to do with it. But as to "your condescension in paying it to me, when you had no right to do it"—this, I tell you, you dare not—I repeat it to you—you dare not refuse to pay it upon my demand. I repeat it again—I am a trustee for widows and orphans. Is it not more natural I should be so, than a British subject of your prin-

* Particular licences, granted at times by the Dey to individuals.

ciples*? Is it right, Mr C——, in your own conscience, to be so solicitous about the affairs of an heretic? Shall I send you a copy of some certificates of your character out of my chancery book, to show how proper a man you are in point of morals for such a charge? You, Mr C——, as you confess you have means to do it, are hereby enjoined to make out your account. If you do not, I will adjudge you to pay the sum of 8567 shillings, the sum with which you charge Mrs H—— without vouchers. Name the 1000 zermaboubs given to the treasurer, which was, I say, well given; and, over and above, state your commission at five per cent. with which you are still not contented.

(No signature.)

No. XVIII*.

Mr Strange to Mr Bruce.

Bologna, *Jan.* 31, 1764.

* * * You must be surprised to find, that I am still an inhabitant of Bologna; I ought to pray for the grace of resistance, for certainly hitherto I have been little endowed with it. The impossibility of my reaching London this winter has made me leave nothing behind me that would occasion a reproach. I have, however, the pleasure to acquaint you, that my departure from Italy is near at hand, being employed on my last drawing, which completes my undertaking with glory. It is no less than the St Cecilia, by Raphael, a picture which, I am satisfied, did not, at first sight, strike you more than it did me, though I have seen it repeated times. It was on approaching it with the convenience of a ladder that

* Mr C—— was a Roman Catholic.

† The five letters following were written to Mr Bruce, at Algiers, by Mr, afterwards Sir Robert Strange, then travelling in Italy and France, and by the late Mr A. Lumisden, author of "Roman Antiquities."

I first discovered its beauties; and I am satisfied, had you the same opportunity I now have of examining the original, you would own it to be one of the divinest pictures of this artist. I have lately finished the Abraham by Guerchino; but Sampieri remained inflexible with regard to the St Peter and St Paul. I shall certainly reach Paris by the end of March, or, at furthest, the beginning of April. You may naturally imagine the engagements I shall have on hand solicit my departure from Italy. You may expect every thing that is in my power while there, and that the ruins of Paesto interest me equally with the figures of the Justice and Meekness by Raphael.

My affairs at home go on, in general, as usual, though the demand for my works rather decreases; nothing, indeed, astonishes me more than its continuing so long as it has done. My arrival in London will, I flatter myself, give a new turn to my affairs. I have been, as usual, fortunate in meeting with a few agreeable pictures. I had brought me, a few days ago, I think, one of the divinest pictures I ever beheld, of Albani, near the size of this half sheet. I have offered for it 40 zecchins, but as yet without any success. I am now master of the king Charles, by Vandyke, which belonged to old Edgar; I have paid for it 60 guineas. I do not despair, upon the whole, of furnishing out a little collection, that, in proportion to their numbers, will compare with any in London. * * * *. I remain, dear sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT STRANGE.

No. XIX.

Mr Lumisden to Consul Bruce.

ROME, *June* 9, 1764.

With infinite pleasure I received, my dear sir, your letter of April the 21st, and heartily congratulate with you, that your account of Paesto is

so far advanced. I am extremely sensible of the fatigue, as well as difficulty, that must necessarily attend the executing a work of this kind, and the rather as you are obliged to do all with your own hand. But I am persuaded that the satisfaction this production will give to the public, and the reputation it will justly acquire you, will amply compensate for all your labour. You may easily believe how anxious I am to see it. The method you have laid down, and the use you make of the medals, must be equally ingenious and satisfactory.

You will have long since heard, that Dance cannot attend you in your African expedition. He only proposed to do it if his father consented, but it seems he absolutely opposes it. In the month of January I acquainted Strange, then in Bologna, of this disappointment, who wrote me, that he had informed you of it. The two Dances are now examining Naples, and I hear, that they are soon to set out for England. I heartily regret this disappointment; for, although you think Dance hardly strong enough in perspective, yet, I can assure you, that, after infinite inquiries, I can find no one of such abilities who will undertake the journey in question. Indeed, could I now find out a person whom I might think tolerably qualified, yet I could not take upon me to send him to you at a venture; and before I could have your return, the season you have fixed for your expedition would be over. Among the mathematical instruments and apparatus you carry with you, I am surprised you have not a camera-obscura. With it you might easily trace the outlines of the views and elevations you desire to have, and which you could afterwards get dressed up and corrected. For the optical error in this instrument is so inconsiderable, that it easily passes unobserved. However, I shall continue to inquire for a proper artist for you, but without your positive orders, I cannot engage any. Personal affection for my dear friend, and a desire to promote the progress of the fine arts, unite to engage me to do every thing in my power to assist you in your laudable scheme.

Strange is now at Paris. He proposes to finish there the two prints of the Justice and Meekness which he designed in the Vatican, from Raphael. In the beginning of winter, I hope he will have the comfort to embrace his dear family. He will carry home with him a collection

of drawings, I may now call them paintings, much superior to any thing of that kind ever seen in Europe, and I may add, any where.

I know nothing new worth mentioning to you from this place. Since the death of Russel, Byres and Morrison have commenced antiquaries; but the former seems hitherto to have had the greatest encouragement.

You would certainly write me oftener, did you know the pleasure it gives me to hear from you, and to know the progress of your literary undertakings; for words are insufficient to express the constant affection and real esteem with which I am, my dear Sir, yours, &c.

(No signature.)

No. XX.

Mr Lumisden to Mr Bruce.

My Dear Sir, Rome, *Feb.* 9, 1765.

I had the pleasure to write you, on the 2d, by Leghorn, and on the 6th, by Marseilles. I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that I have just engaged for you *Signior Luigi Balugani,* "Maestra dell' Academia Clementina nell Instituto della Scienza en Bologna." This young man, I flatter myself, will be able to serve you in your present undertaking. He is certainly the best qualified of any I can find here. He has lived several years in Rome, in the house of Conte Ranuzzi of Bologna. This gentleman gives him the best of characters with regard to private life, as well as diligence. He is now etching on copper the outlines of a view of the inside of St Peter's for the *Camera,* which will be finished in a few days; and on the 20th inst. he goes to Florence with the French courier, from whence he will go directly to Leghorn, to embark for Algiers. I have, on this occasion, taken the advice of Messrs Walker and Byres. We

have done the best in our power to serve you; and indeed there are few people in the world for whom I would have undertaken such a commission; and by it I give you a real proof of my friendship. Perhaps you may think the terms high, but there was no possibility of serving you more frugally. For no person of any kind of reputation would leave his business (how small soever) and his country for a year, for less encouragement. You will see, by the inclosed paper, the conditions agreed on, and which you will no doubt ratify. Balugani engages to serve you a year at the rate of 35 Roman crowns per month, with table, and the expence of his journies defrayed. As he had some debts here, and other expences to be at, he would not engage without having three months pay by advance; in order, therefore, not to delay his journey, and consequently your undertaking, I shall advance him 105 Roman crowns, for which, with your conveniency, you may send me a credit on Leghorn, or any where else. I shall write a line to Lefroy and Charron, along with the young man, that they may pay the expence of his journey, and provide what is necessary for him whilst at Leghorn. I am persuaded that you will easily find sufficient employment for him for a year. Besides making out the clear drawings for you, he is able to trace them on copper, being accustomed to etch in that manner. What he seems most defective in is figures, in which you must assist him yourself, or have them afterwards re-touched. In short, it is impossible to find you any one artist complete in all the parts you may desire. I shall be infinitely anxious to hear of his arrival, and to have your approbation of what I have done for you. In the mean time, I embrace you most affectionately, and ever am, with the greatest friendship and esteem, my dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

ANDREW LUMISDEN.

No. XXI.

Mr Lumisden to Mr Bruce.

DEAR SIR, ROME, *July* 13, 1766.

It gave me great pleasure to receive your obliging letter of April 26, and to know that Monsieur de Balugani had safely reached you. Defective as he is in figures and ornaments, he was, in the opinion of all my acquaintance, the properest person here, who would undertake to serve you. Few people, who have any kind of business, would abandon it for the space of an African journey, for, perhaps, double the wages, high as they are, which you give Balugani. Indeed, I flatter myself, that under your direction, and with your assistance, he will execute your plan in such a manner, as will procure you reputation, and give satisfaction to the public. You will do me a very particular pleasure to write me often, the progress you make, and what places you have visited. Mess. Belli, &c. have repaid me the 105 crowns I advanced to Balugani, whose receipt you will find inclosed.

I have been at much pains to inquire at the booksellers for the books you want. After all, I could only get Cluverius's Introduction to Geography; but my worthy friend, Mr Wagstaff, was so kind as give me out of his library, La Croix's account of Africa, in four vols. in 12mo. These books, carefully put up in a small case, I have sent to Leghorn to Messrs Belli, &c. to be forwarded to you as you direct. I wish I could have got for you Granage, Cellarius, and Procopius. If, by accident, I find them soon, I shall send them you. Rome is but a bad market for books of belles lettres and profane learning; but if you want scholastic divinity and canon law, you may be provided here.

I long to receive your account of Paesto. Dumont, a French architect, formerly in their academy here, has published at Paris, plans and elevations of these temples, but without any description of them. They

are but poorly executed, as is another work on the same subject, and likewise without any account, published lately at Naples by Merghen. I am told that neither of them are exact. These publications will be no disadvantage to you; they will only whet the appetite of the public to see something more complete and satisfactory.

We had last winter many travellers here; but they are now all gone. Amongst others was Lord Mountstuart, attended by Colonel Edmondston, and Mr Mallet of Geneva, who wrote the history of Denmark. His Lordship cut a great figure; is a genteel young man, but seems to have little taste for the fine arts. Robert Strange went to London in the spring, and published Raphael's two figures in the Vatican, viz. Justice and Meekness. I reckon he is by this time returned back to Paris, where he proposes to engrave two pieces from Guercino, viz. Esther before Ahasuerus, in the Barbarini palace here, and the Abraham and Hagar at Bologna. All your friends here offer you their kind compliments, and with the warmest sentiments of affection and esteem, I constantly am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ANDREW LUMISDEN,

No. XXII.

Mr Strange to Mr Bruce.

DEAR SIR, LONDON, *July 25*, 1766.

The agreeable accounts I had lately from Mr Frazer *, relating to your welfare, gave me a pleasure I have been long a stranger to; and the hopes he has flattered me with of your speedy return to England. I have

* Consul at Tripoli.

been often anxious to hear of you; your stay in Africa has, I find, by much exceeded the time you set aside for that journey. Your acquisitions during that period must be numerous and interesting, and of importance both to yourself and the public. I long greatly to see them; nay, even to assist you towards the completion of a work which must reflect equal honour both on the author and his country. When you return from Africa, I hope you will not fail to visit Florence. Mr Frazer assures me of your intention to see Venice; and the former, you know, is but a step from thence, and may be accomplished in a few days. My motives for advising you, you are no stranger to. It is my opinion you should improve every advantage from our friend, the cook, who amazes all I know, and is the person best qualified for properly assisting, and even enriching your important labours. Your work of Paesto has been long executed, even to the very time you limited me when we last parted at Florence. I never doubted but your friends in England, who were to be charged with the remainder of the work, had all in readiness at my return to London, January was a twelvemonth; but, on my conversing with Mr Hamilton, I found it otherwise. The plates before that time were consigned to Mr Ballantyne at Boulogne, as you may remember we concerted. They are yet in his possession, and, I presume, will remain so till your return to England. I make no doubt of their giving you that satisfaction you could wish for; be assured, that in the executing of them they were equally interesting to me with my other engagements. Since my return from Italy, I have spent a considerable part of my time in Paris towards forwarding my great work. I have many plates in hand; but have hitherto only published the two figures of the Justice and Meekness from Raphael. By next winter I shall have four in readiness, viz. the Abraham pulling away Hagar in the Sampieri palace at Bologna; Esther before Ahasuerus, in the Barbarini palace at Rome, both by Guerchino; the Aldovrando Cupid, by Guido, and the fourth, a Madona and child, from another picture of Guido, in my own possession. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have made many valuable acquisitions towards my completing my collection of pictures, and I may affirm, that, in proportion of number, it will vie with most collections I know of in this country. They mostly, as yet, remain in Paris, from

whence I shall transport them next winter. To my want of health is chiefly owing my paying a visit to London at this season. I propose returning to Paris in a month or so hence, and shall finally transport myself here as early in the winter as possible.

Our friend, Mylne, is advancing in his great work with that security and honour which his most sanguine friends could wish him. He is now about the sixth arch, and, if he is not interrupted, by want of stone, a few years more must complete the work. We are certainly in this country gaining ground in the progress of the arts; the encouragement given is chiefly from individuals; for the hopes once entertained ***, are pretty much over: Dalton, &c. &c. are, as usual, his favourites. I was agreeably surprised at seeing one exhibition here since my return from Italy; I saw that at Paris for the subsequent year, and if we set aside two of the French artists, viz. Vernet and Greuse, the former exhibition will by far claim the preference, I flatter myself this letter will stand a better chance of reaching you than several I have wrote; for, since we parted at Florence, I have never had a return to any I have wrote you, which makes me doubt much of their having reached you. Mrs Strange is well, and desires much to be remembered to you; for myself, I shall only add, I shall be proud of every opportunity of testifying the sincere sense with which I remain, dear Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

ROBERT STRANGE.

No. XXIII.

Mr Bruce to Mr Wood.

SIR, TUNIS, *April* 2, 1766.

The last time I did myself the honour of writing to you, was before the final adjusting of the king's affairs relating to passports at Algier,

when, upon intimation of Mr Cleveland's coming out thither, I mentioned to you my apprehension of that gentleman's misbehaviour. The event has justified my prophecy; every thing has either been given up, or left unsettled, without the smallest satisfaction, or even acknowledgment of error on the part of the Algerines, from a consideration of some licences for loading corn granted to him and his associates, which the Dey himself, though benefited by, yet, in contempt of his behaviour, recalled, and annulled the day after he sailed; and obliged the Swedish consul and his brother, his counsellors and partners in the adventure, forthwith to quit Algiers. Being, after the departure of the Phœnix, at liberty to set out on my voyage, and the Dey having, in the most obliging manner, furnished me with letters to the governors of all his provinces, and to the Bey of Tunis, I set out in the end of August from Algiers, and it being then too hot to proceed by land, besides that I wanted several little necessaries, I took the opportunity of a ship for Mahon, and thence, without being admitted to quarantine, proceeded to Tunis.

I began my journey by land the middle of September by Keff to Constantina; but the Moors between those two places being then in rebellion, after having the mortification of seeing part of the frize of the temple of Venus (Keff, as you know, was the Sicca Venerea), so mutilated, that no idea could be formed of it, and having delineated the only three figures that remained on a part of the frize of the temple of Hercules, I turned eastward to Spaitla, the ancient Sufetula, where I knew there was what would occupy me for some time; and I was not mistaken. Having delineated, measured, and minuted every thing of any worth, as well there as in all the other places of the neighbourhood, I returned, and proceeded to Constantina, where I arrived safely, but with difficulty enough.

The Bey was gone out with his camp; but, having advice of my coming from Algier, he had left orders to have every thing ready for my reception. We were lodged in his own palace, and treated with the utmost magnificence, as well as the greatest attention, and six chosen Moorish horse well acquainted with the language and the country, for the language is in many places difficult, appointed to accompany me wherever I intended to go. With these I went to every place of note

through that province, even through the mountainous, and hitherto thought inaccessible parts of it; and advanced into the desert to the southward, till we wanted water, and, indeed, every thing else. I then turned N. E. and coasted along the desert to the frontiers of Tunis, resting a little at Cafsa, one of the principal cities of Jugurtha. From this I again took to the desert, standing due south-east, steering always in a sea of land by compass and observation, intending to have fetched Tripoly; but we were here again obstructed by the Moors, and not knowing the wells, which are kept always covered with camels' hides, we were obliged to cross the mountains of Atlas, and continue our course to Girba, a fruitful island of Tunis, the Meninx of the Lotophagi, three days journey distance, but then in sight.

Here I was surprised to find myself among men of a different species, not living in tents, or in mud-walled cottages, as the Arabs do; but in caves under ground as the Troglodytes of old. Mela says of these that they lived in caves, and fed upon serpents; if he had said, fed together with serpents, his description had been just; for these are so many in every habitation, and so familiar, that at each meal, they come and pick up what falls from the dish, like dogs. Some of them are seven feet in length; but to these people so harmless, that, even trod upon accidentally, they do not sting, and there is not any person of the family who will not, with their hands, lift them out of their way, when sleeping, or in any manner troublesome. No persuasion nor reward could induce them to let me carry away one of them; it being universally believed that they are a kind of good angels, whom it would be the highest impropriety, and of the worst consequence to the community, to remove from their dwellings. Upon our arrival at Girba, we found that the Bey of Tunis had prepared a house for us, and sent from his own palace every sort of refreshment that he could devise, with orders to receive us with every possible honour, and furnish us with what we required at his expence. Here I staid a month, with an intention to proceed to Tripoly, through the desert, making fair copies of my minutes and designs, and having sent back to Tunis two of my spachis, who had been wounded, and one that was afraid to go further. I sent a letter to Mr Frazer, the consul at Tripoly, desiring an escort, as I was now reduced to nine men

in all, seven of whom, though indeed resolute people, and well armed, were incumbered with the mules and camels, which carried our tents and provisions; the other two were an English servant and a renegado, my drugoman, who, with myself, were the only three mounted on horses, and at liberty.

No return came from Tripoly; for the Bey being on ill terms with the consul, though he promised, he would not send any escort. Myself and servants did indeed most rashly attempt to pass the desert, inhabited only by ruffians and assassins, who pay no sort of acknowledgment to any sovereign, and where the caravan from Morocco to Mecca, which we found near Tripoly, had been defeated and plundered, though they amounted to upwards of 3000 men. Nor did we escape; for the night of the third day we were attacked by a number of horsemen, and four of our men killed upon the spot. Providence, the prodigious resolution of our little company, and the night, saved the remainder, and we arrived at Tripoly, when given over by every body for lost. The consul complained heavily to the Basha, who excused himself poorly. I am persuaded he would have laid the blame upon Mr Frazer, if any accident had befallen us. I cannot mention this gentleman without regretting that he is, as I hear, recalled upon a complaint of the Basha of Tripoly, who after many other irregularities, at last confined him to his house. This grand complaisance to these Barbary gentlemen, who answer the complaints for national grievances by personal exceptions against the consul, will soon have the effect to make neutral freighters believe that our flag is insecure, and without protection, and will in the end certainly throw all this caravan trade into the hands of the French, who support their consul and colours with the utmost spirit, both at Tunis and Tripoly.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, having given orders to Commodore Harrison to desire, in his name, that all encouragement and assistance might be given me in my journey from each of these regencies; and that gentleman, being soon expected at Tripoly, I left a letter for him, begging him to obtain of the Bashaw of Tripoly the same liberty I had in Algiers and Tunis, to visit the antiquities of the kingdom; after which I returned along the coasts of the lesser Syrtis, down to Cape Bon,

the Promontorium Mercurii; from thence again arrived at Tunis, after an absence of more than six months, constantly encamped.

It is now time to mention how that space has been employed, and whether my expectations have been answered by the antiquities I have found in my journey. The principal are these: Eight triumphal arches of the Corinthian order, mostly of different plans and designs, and little ruined; seven Corinthian temples in great preservation, all highly ornamented and of the very best ages, whose plans, parts, and decorations, I have, by very laborious searches and excavations, made myself entirely master of; add to these one large temple of the Composite order, in its best age; one part of which is so perfectly preserved, that it must be looked upon as an unexceptionable example of the manner in which the ancients disposed and proportioned the constituent parts of that order, and two large aqueducts, the smallest of which exceeds by forty-two feet in perpendicular height the remains of the highest aqueduct in Rome. In these designs are included the ruins of the three principal cities of Africa, namely, Iol, or Julia Caesarea, the capital of Juba; Cirta; and Carthage; the last of which, I hope, will be found to make a better figure than it does in the accounts of some travellers, who would persuade us there are no traces of that city remaining.

The drawings are 16 inches by 12, which, taking the length and the breadth, are the largest ever published, and will make three volumes, each about the size of Mr Le Roy's Antiquities of Greece, or something larger. I bestowed my utmost care and attention on them, and may safely say, I have not left, in the parts I have visited, one stone undesigned, whence any benefit could result to the arts.

I have corrected and cleared up many passages of the Antonine Itinerary, Peutinger's Tables and Ptolemy, as well as of Sanson, Nollin, and Dibbler's French maps, all by actual observation; and, if ever I have time, hope to give a large map of Africa, that will show how much the gentlemen above-mentioned have wrote by hearsay, or imagination.

I have collected about three hundred medals of all kinds, many of which are curious, though I have not had time to consider them; some large medallion vases and statues of bronze, all in good taste; and have copied about one thousand inscriptions.

And, lastly, I have not entirely neglected, but have made about thirty drawings of the rarest animals, insects, birds, and plants of this country, particularly the interior and remote parts of it, all in their natural colours.

As soon as Mr Harrison has obtained leave for me, I return to Tripoly; from thence I intend to visit the ruins of Leptis Magna; go round the gulf of Sidra, or Syrtis Major, to Berenice, Arsinoe, Cyrene, Ptolemais, Barca Apollonia, down to Darne. There I shall finish; for however my desire might be to continue my researches till I saw the end of Africa at the pyramids, as this is part of Mr Montague's* design, I would not, in any manner, seem to interfere with it, as I willingly confess he is in every respect my superior both in capacity and preparation.

I hope you will do me the justice to believe, from what I have mentioned, that nothing in my power has been omitted to comply with what you recommended to me on my leaving England, viz. that I would endeavour to make large excursions into this country. These, though terminated to my satisfaction, have been so continually attended with every kind of danger, hardship, and difficulty, that no consideration possible would make me again repeat the journey I have now finished. Often beset with, and constantly in fear of, the wandering Arabs, the most brutal set of barbarous wretches ever I believe existed; constantly parched with heat, or dying with extreme cold; exposed many times to the risk of dying with thirst, though perpetually in view of large quantities of water, equal in saltness to the sea; in the northern parts in constant danger from tigers, lions, and panthers; in the south afraid of every creature, where the smallest insect is endowed with some noxious quality: scorpions and horned vipers are in such abundance, that of the former, thirty-five were killed in and about my tent an hour after it was pitched. And when, in the evening of a sultry day, we had the comfort of a fresh breeze, we were hindered from enjoying it, by reflecting, that if it increased, we might, while asleep, be buried in the showers of sand it carries along with it. But the greatest discouragement of all is the little

* E. W. Montague, brother-in-law to the Earl of Bute, and well known for his eccentric profligate character.

countenance given by government to such undertakings. Asia has been, and I hope will still farther be, by your endeavours, so freed from that obscurity in which her antiquities were buried, that the public has nothing further to wish, but that you may have time to finish your publications. Greece has been wore thread bare by late publications. Rome is, and will be still further in the same situation, while Africa, at our very door, but two short days journey from France and Italy, has been till now looked upon as a place into which it was rashness to penetrate * * * * *.

No. XXIV.

Narrative of Mr Bruce's journies to Baalbec and Palmyra.

SIDON, *Sept.* 16. 1767.

Set out this day for Baalbec; crossed the river of Sidon, holding east along the river, to the foot of Mount Libanus. In two hours and a half arrived at Ajon; from thence passing the several stations mentioned in the map, through a road extremely rough, and full of precipices, we arrived at six o'clock at Badera, the house of Shekh Ali Gimblatt. At eleven next day we continued on our journey, through worse road, if possible, than the day before. Passed Barooch, a small miserable village, and about two miles above it saw the source of the river of Sidon, and lay all night in a stable at a miserable, and almost abandoned village of Druses, called Kefferay.

* This letter is unfinished in the copy preserved among Mr Bruce's papers. It is obvious that he exaggerated the difficulties of travelling in Barbary, with a view to attract the notice of some people then in power; but with little success.

The 18th, at four in the morning, left Kefferay; beginning now to descend Mount Libanus, in very difficult road; at seven came, without knowing previously, upon a body of Druses, with their prince, or emir, who waited at a fountain the arrival of Emir Yousef, then on his march from the conquest of Baalbec, where he had banished the former prince, Emir Heydar, and placed in his stead Emirs Ali and Mahomet, his brother. The princes and people of Baalbec are Mutuali, of the sect of Ali, which is the religion of the Persians. Half an hour after met Emir Yousef with the green ensign flying before him, and received his letters and passport for Baalbec. Lay this night at one of the sources of the river Casimiah, at a convent of Maronites, near a village called Zahala, by Mr Wood, Zikely, (*vide* History of Baalbec) in a valley of Mount Libanus, which mountain we descended before noon, and came into a plain at a small village, called Cabalias.

The 19th, in the forenoon, arrived at Baalbec.

At Zahala the mountains of Libanus begin to be of rich mould, and are all cultivated. Every valley has a stream running through it into the plain, and every stream on its side a village, where the people live in a sort of independence, under protection of the Druses, in free exercise of their religion, whatever it is, and out of reach of the oppressions of the neighbouring bashas of Tripoly, Seide, and Damascus, in the centre of which they are. The plain below is called the Bekka, at the north end of which stands the town of Baalbec, with a considerable stream, which, rising at Ras-el-Ain, about one half of a mile east of the town, divides near the court of the great temple, one branch running south, the other west, which is drunk up in the gardens.

The plain of Bekka is the Coelosyria of ancient historians; it is bounded on the other side by a ridge of mountains parallel to Mount Libanus through which we came, and is the Antilibanus; it seems to be of the same nature and difficult access as the former. Over it lies the road to Damascus, about fourteen leagues distance. We saw no snow in the passage of the mountains, nor do the springs seem to owe their water to the meltings of the snow, as Mr Wood supposes, for they ran very plentifully at this season; but, on the top of the high mountain north-west of Baalbec, there still remained a considerable quantity. The harvest was

not finished; here we began immediately the measuring and delineating the remains of ancient architecture, and comparing the general measures in the plan and elevations Messrs Wood and Dawkins have given the public, and these are our remarks which follow:

N. B. Cælo-syria Proper is probably *this* plain; but Cælo-syria, in general, probably means all that part of Syria situated in the plain. The form of Mount Libanus, as seen from the plain of Bekka, is this: first, a ridge of mountains extremely proper for culture, and of no considerable height, sloping easily to the plain, and covered with trees that are not very thickly planted; on the other side of these rises a chain of mountains of an extraordinary height, bare for the most part, and stony, cut in every direction by deep rain, and covered with snow, unless in the summer. Thus they continue, till they descend much more steeply on the other side towards the sea. The vallies within these high chains of mountains, which on one side run parallel to the sea-coast, and on the other form the east side of the plain of Bekka, are mostly narrow, but abundantly fertile, were they in the hands of better people, under a better government; industry being always here followed by oppression.

I saw no ruins nor vestiges of cities in Cælo-syria, nor in the valleys, nor are any villages built there, as all the low grounds in Syria are unhealthy, and it was probably so in all times.

Palmyra is twenty hours, or about sixty miles east of Carieteen, all which distance must be passed over without water. It is situated in a plain surrounded on the west and north with mountains, and open on the south and east; to the south is the Subkah, or valley of salt. There is no habitation, or village, nearer than Carieteen, except the tents of the Arabs Mutuali, Amour, and Annecy, of which the Amour are the only constant inhabitants; the other two retiring towards the end of October, the one to Zoar near Aleppo, the other, the Annecy, to Auran.

The mountains which surround Palmyra are the Antilibanus; it is on our right, or to the south, all our road from Carieteen to this city, which is known to the Arabs by no name but that of Thedmor.

The principal ruins are the temple of the sun with its portico; the great portico, which traversed the town in a south-east and north-west direction, and several small temples, or sepulchres, supported by columns.

The gate of the portico has but one of the jamms or stipites any way entire; the cornice above the other jamm is perfectly defaced, and appears to have been so for ages. The ornaments of this are both designed and executed in the greatest taste; but the marble is of a bad quality, and has not faithfully preserved it. The niches too of the two wings of the portico are existing; but the ornaments are entirely lost. It is covered by a modern wall, which serves it as a gate-way between which you pass to enter the village. The part where the portico is most entire is at the south-east angle, where remains a very considerable number of columns which go to the north and to the west; those which run westerly have the frize and cornice very much ornamented; some very large flowers in great relief still remain; but the whole festoon, or stalk, which connected them, is utterly ruined, nor is it possible to investigate it truly enough to design it.—The extremity of this range of columns near the west angle remains likewise; but none of those parts are remaining in the order in which they are placed in Mr Wood's plan of the portico.

The temple of the sun is very much ruined. Of its peristyle there only remain ** columns entire, Corinthian, fluted, and very elegant, though apparently of slenderer proportion than ten diameters. Their capitals are quite destroyed. The ornaments of the outer gate are some of them perfectly well designed, but the whole very ill executed. The two columns inserted in the walls are of the Ionic order; their capitals are of all possible beauty, both as to the execution and design: the fusts of these are fluted likewise. The large rose in the soffite, on the right hand on entering, is tolerably well executed, but the other indifferently. The eagle on the architrave of the entrance is not in the attitude as in Mr Wood's design, but has its wings spread the whole length of the stone; his body occupying the center, and his head looking forwards without the architrave.

In general, although of all the buildings in Palmyra, the temple of the sun is that whose ornamental parts chiefly exist, yet they are by no means in the number in which they are published in Mr Wood's account;

and even of these, the interior part, the most considerable for number, is very poorly imagined, in most places, and in all ill executed.

The large portico has neither in its frize nor architrave any thing that can be distinguished of ornament; the same may be said of all the other buildings; for, except the four pedestals in the middle of the portico, where there are pieces of large cornice remaining, the sculpture at the end, with part of its tympanum, and a heap of ruins of a building near it, where there is a large inscription, Greek and Palmyrene; there is not another piece of ornament existing either on the ground or in its place; I should except the large arch, and a smaller one in the file of columns of the portico. The portico is not in a straight line, it makes several angles; it likewise parted to right and left in several branches which ran across the city. That which Mr Wood takes to be columns, in form of a circus, is nothing more than one of these transversal branches, which being thrown down just after it had made an angle, gives it that circular appearance; but the vestiges of the continuation of its range are very distinct, and its corresponding at the arch in the long file where it begins, and the large building where apparently it was to end, sufficiently show this.

The small pedestals, which are inserted in the columns of the portico, are not all in the same line, but are continued in a line correspondent to the impost of the arch, which intercepts the file, and then begin again to the height of the other.

Palmyra is no where covered with sand or rubbish as in other ruins. The desert that surrounds it is rather gravel than sand, and is therefore not easily removed. The mountains are perfectly bare, and produce nothing; the people very miserable, and are the race of all the neighbouring Arabs mixed together. They are governed by a Shekh and Sourbachi, dependent on the Aga of Hassia, whose Melkana or Fief it is, together with Hassia, Sudud, Howarura, Carietein, and Mehein, in order that he may keep up a number of Spachis for the protection of caravans and passengers. But the present Mahomet, very different from his father Solyman, is so weak, covetous, and little esteemed, that the whole country is now at the discretion of the Arabs, and not so much as a shadow of government maintained; so that this voyage to Palmyra,

if we consider its expence, the inevitable danger of the road, and the no less danger while here, may be deemed one of those that are impracticable. They pay no regard to any command or superior, and there is no sort of oppression and robbery we did not suffer from the Sourbachi Shekh of Tedmor, and that of Carietein, though this last was our conductor and protector, and though we had with us fourteen armed servants of the Aga. It rained four days here very violently, the 21st to the 24th of October; the mornings excessive cold till nine o'clock *.

No. XXV.

Mr Bruce to Mr Strange.

DEAR SIR, SIDON, *May* 10. 1768.

I cannot sufficiently regret the very bad fortune that has attended our correspondence. I have wrote from every place where it was possible, from Algiers, Tunis, Tripoly, Bengazi in Africa, from the island of Candia, and here from Sidon twice; once before, and once since my return from Palmyra; on the other hand, I have never received but one from you besides your last from London, dated July 25th 1766, which I may reckon half miscarried, as I did not receive it till the 18th of last month, nearly two years since it was wrote. The same has, I believe, attended my other letters; for it is impossible that some which I have wrote should not have been answered.

* This narrative is the only record which Mr Bruce wrote of his journey to Baalbec and Palmyra, except a few short notes. It contains some observations on Mr Wood's work, which Mr Bruce suppressed out of friendship for that gentleman, but which may now be published without doing injury to either.

I thank you a thousand times for your offers of assistance, which I shall very much need; my works are nearly as voluminous as yours; I wish they resembled them in something else as they do in that. I will not trouble you with a list of them, as I have hitherto given it in every letter I have wrote; and I hope some of these may at last find you, as yours, after two years wandering, has at last reached me. I shall only say, that, as far as I know, I have not left undesigned in Asia or Africa one stone from which any thing may be learned: and I am now ready to embark for Egypt to do the same there. I shall advance up to the cataracts from Cairo, I shall cross Arabia by land to Jerusalem, and so through Syria into Mesopotamia and Armenia, in some part of which, as far to the north-east as possible, I shall take my station, to observe the transit of Venus in June next year*; after which, having left nothing undone that was in my power to do, I shall come home through Asia Minor, and to Constantinople, through Macedonia to Ragusa, where I intend to perform quarantine; and then, without stopping, shall continue my journey to England, submitting all I have done to the judgment of my friends, though very little anxious whether it ever appear to the world. The pleasure and instruction I have received from collecting them has more than paid me all the pains they have cost me, and I hope they will be a considerable part of my amusement the rest of my life. I heard, while I was at Aleppo, that a society of lovers of the arts were to send an artist out to make drawings, and collect antiquities in the Levant, and were to give him a 1000l. per annum. I believe it will be full as advantageous to the arts that this was not done; as it will but disappoint my endeavours, and as it will be impossible for any stranger, ignorant of the customs and language, ever to penetrate into the dangerous and difficult places from whence I have drawn some of my most valuable acquisitions. Syria has indeed made me pay dearly; I have been at death's door of a fever, and have had five relapses; it is an unwholesome climate, and full of bad air.

* This passage gave rise to the report, industriously circulated by Montague and others, that Mr Bruce went into Armenia instead of Habbesh.

You are so kind as to say you will assist me in my works. I have made twelve drawings of Palmyra, and four of Baalbec. I say to you, and hope it will not therefore be thought vanity, since I say it to no one else, they are by much the most magnificent views that have ever appeared. I have not meddled with regular architecture or description out of regard to Mr Wood, but I have represented these ruins in the most advantageous points of view; they are in size, inches, 24½ length, by 16.5 breadth, and I have collected for them figures in all the different dresses of the Levant. What do you say to go halves in the publication? I desire only your superintending the engraving; I assure you they never shall be published unless under your auspices. I may say every drawing has been purchased by the risk of my life; for we were, in returning, saved from assassination as by a miracle.

I intend to take Sicily in my way home; if I remember, I have heard you say, that our friend Mr Milne had some intention to publish a work upon the remains of architecture in Sicily; I surely did not dream it. Pray let me know if it is so, for so very far am I from wishing to interfere with him, that if he shall find any thing new in the drawings I shall make, they shall be at his service, and I shall disown them. It gives me great pleasure to hear how well his work advances, and that it will answer expectation. I have never doubted it would do so from the first. Nothing is more just than the present distribution. Other architects are employed in paving streets, while he is reserved for bridges and palaces. You see we know a little of what is passing; nay, I could tell you news of your own performances that would make you vain, were you not so much spoilt by praises already. In the house of a French merchant* with whom I lodged at Aleppo, and who has now finished his house, I saw a room allotted entirely for your works; all were commissioned from France, and part arrived, among whom was your sleeping child by Guido; do not think I mean by this that they were sent for by my recommendation; I assure you no; it is his own taste that determined him, and a very good one he has, and excellent collections both of natural history and antiquities. All that I contributed was a copy of your

* Mr Belville.

St Cæcilia in water-colours, placed over the chimney, with a Latin inscription in honour of the master of the house's judgment, and the engraver's abilities. I dare say you laugh when I talk of copying your St Cæcilia; I hope one day or other to make you own you are mistaken. In all the English houses of Aleppo, I did not see one of your prints; fye upon us! I for my part lead the life of a robber rather than of an English traveller, sculking in the convents and caverns of Mount Libanus, that I may give myself entirely to my business.

What you say of our advancement of the arts gives me great pleasure, and heartily am I sorry, on the other hand, that the encouragement comes not from the king as from the public. We shall never do any thing lasting till that is the case. See what royal encouragement did in a long reign in France; we have certainly a greater elevation of genius than that light unsettled nation; and yet, till within these very few years, painting, drawing, and engraving, were no where to be seen, in any tolerable degree of perfection, but in France, not even in Italy.

I hear that the engraving of my prints of Paesto at Paris has not only procured an edition, but likewise that Mr Soufflot is engraving and printing, by subscription, at London, a work on my plan precisely. I suppose in your absence he has seen my prints, and probably copied them; pray let me know how this is, and whether you have not in some review or magazine given the public some notice that it may wait for mine. I did not dare require the manuscript, as I had never an answer to my letters; and since the fair copy was lost in a bark shipwrecked in the Gulf of Sidra, together with my quadrant, telescopes, and other instruments, which had cost me a considerable sum, I have copied anew my Paesto, and it is now quite ready, but I have some thoughts of joining to it the ruins in Sicily. I long much to see your collection of pictures; did you leave my two little landscapes by Albani at Boulogne? The arts in Italy have suffered by the death of Don Philip, from whom I received more civilities than ever yet I did from any prince. I beg my kindest compliments to Mrs Strange, and my namesake Brucy, whom I suppose by this time married; let me hear from you all in a letter that regards only yourselves and your works, for I am not curious about any thing else. I shall write you from Egypt, where I shall endeavour to produce some-

thing more tolerable than Dalton's Pyramids; I beg you will send me your address, for I do not remember it, having never seen your new house. I direct to Mr Drummond, Charing Cross. Direct to me, to the care of M. De Fort, Consul de France, à Alexandria. I am always, with the greatest regard and esteem, my dear sir, your most affectionate and most obedient humble servant,

JAMES BRUCE.

No. XXVI.

Letters of Mr Price to Mr Bruce at Gondar.*

DEAR SIR, JIDDA, *20th January*, 1770.

Your favour of the first October did not come to hand till the 10th of December, since which no opportunity has offered to answer it till now.

I am exceedingly glad to hear you are in health, and in a fair way of accomplishing the end of your fatiguing voyage; I sincerely hope you will succeed to the utmost of your wishes, and return in perfect health to your native country, and dear friends.

I am very sorry that it is not in my power to assist you with a tube for your barometer, having no such thing, nor is it possible to get one from India, or any other part, sooner than March 1771; but you may de-

* These four letters were written to Mr Bruce in Abyssinia, by Captain Price of the Lion of Bombay East Indiaman. For a character of this gentleman, vide 2d edition of Travels, Vol. VI. pp. 183, 184, and passim. To the benevolence and generosity which made him the friend of Mr Bruce, the public is indirectly indebted for that work, and whatever information it contains.

pend, should any such thing come in any of the ships here, that I will procure it for you, and send it with the Patriarch. He is now here waiting for Metical Aga coming down. I have no Old Testament, but will send you a Bible, which I hope will answer the purpose. You may depend I will get you well recommended to the Patriarch, and will use my best endeavours to explain to him who you are, and your principles of religion, and the motives of your voyage.

Mahomet Tobal is here, and desires his compliments. I have showed him your box; I will not neglect when he comes to take it away, to give him and his servants strict charge with it; at which time I will give him your letters.

Inclosed is a letter from Cairo.

I bless God I have had my health indifferent well since you left us; but my house has not been free a day from the fever. Haverkam and Potter are both well, and beg you will accept of their best wishes for your health.

I have met with many disagreeable things since you were here, but there is no redress; for they do with us and our cargoes just what they please. But I hope in God I shall live to see the day when some of our countrymen will convince them of their error. To add to my troubles, I have not sold a piece of goods, nor do I believe I shall till the Hadge*. Here are nine ships arrived from Suez, and another daily expected with the Bashaw †.

I hope, if you recollect any thing that you may want, you will not scruple to send; for, believe me, Sir, I shall with pleasure comply with any commands. I conclude with my sincere wishes for your health, and am with respect, Sir, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS PRICE.

* Arrival of the pilgrims.

† See the Aga's letter to the Naybe of Masuah, No. XXVII. letter VI.

DEAR SIR, *February* 4. 1770.

The inclosed was wrote to send by a boat which was to have sailed for Loheia twenty days ago, but one of the people dying, she was stopped. I there informed you the Patriarch was waiting for the Metical Aga's coming down, when I should get you properly recommended. But hearing that he was to leave Jidda in a few days, I thought it best to wait on him, which I did, and he has promised to order you every service in his power. When I mentioned sending to Metical Aga for a letter in your favour, he said there was not the least occasion for it, as my waiting on him had answered every purpose, and I might depend you should have free liberty to go just where you please, and have all the assistance in his power.

But as I well know there is no recommendation so likely to succeed with most of the gentlemen of his cloth, as that which is backed with something very good for the back or the belly, I gave him an invitation to breakfast, and on his going away, presented him with a small matter out of my cargo by way of a keepsake. As there is no ship arrived from India, I can say nothing to the tube for your barometer, but you may depend on having one, if any such thing comes.

I hope long before this comes to hand, you will be safe arrived in a Christian country; although I much doubt the accounts we have published, being very erroneous, but I think it is not possible for it to be more disagreeable than this place: For it is not only the oppression of the government, there are many other disagreeable things, and we are locked from all manner of news, and in a manner prisoners in our own houses, which will make a long letter very acceptable; and I hope you will give us some account of the country and people. Pray give our joint compliments to Signor Luigi; you have my sincere wishes for a continuance of your health, and believe me, I am, with respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS PRICE*.

* The Patriarch spoken of in this letter, was a new Abuna, who was going from Egypt to Habbesh, by the usual way of Jidda. He was escorted to Dixan, or Adowa, by one

To J. B. Esq. JIDDA, 10*th March*, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

Yours from Adowa of January 1st I received the 21st February, and am happy in hearing you are in health, and in so fair a prospect of succeeding to your wishes.

Agreeable to your desire, I got your letter to the Selidar translated, which I sent him, and desired he would send me letters for you to Sennaar, which he has done, and they come inclosed. I have likewise sent to the Vizir for others, which he has promised to send.

In regard to your commission, I have used my best endeavours to execute it as near your orders as I possibly could, and sincerely hope it will come safe to your hands.

You desired I would buy you a piece of Surat stuff, value about 60 dollars, but as there seldom come any which are so high priced, or of the length you mention, (although I acknowledge I do not know what you mean by a peek, but I imagine it to be about ¾ of our yard); therefore I inquired what was proper for Sennaar, and they informed me, that what I have sent was usually sent there. I hope it will answer better being three pieces than one; they cost just sixty dollars, and are exceeding cheap; for they are generally sold for eighty cruz a-piece, but having a Surat man in the house, I got them cheaper. As the beads did not come to much, I ventured to send your four strings of different sizes; and as to your knives, I am just as much at a loss what a para is, as I was about peeks, but I made all the inquiry I could, and was informed those I sent are of the right sort; the blue cloths you wrote for are too dear here.

The Selidar's servant that went with you is not returned to Jidda yet, nor have I received any letters from you since you left us, except one from Mussoua, and this from Adowa, in which were inclosed your third and fourth bills for 150l., on Messrs Drummond and Co. with the letters

Jawher, a servant of the Aga. This was the Abuna, who behaved so singularly at the battle of Serbraxos. Travels, Vol. VI. p. 162.

of advice; and your letter of credit on Smyrna, which I have returned. Your first and second bills are not come to hand yet.

I have delivered your chest to Mahomet Reis Tobal * with strict charge, and shall give him your letters just before he sails, which I believe will be in about ten days. Inclosed you will find your account-current, and a list of what things I have sent.

Believe me, Sir, that part of your letter where you say you have sent your letter of credit, and that if I have the least doubt, I may learn of the Vizir that you had an order for 2000 dollars, gives me much concern. Could Mr Bruce think me capable (admitting I had any doubt) of applying to a man like the Vizir, for the truth of an assertion of his or any other gentleman of my country? No; believe me, Sir, I should have despised myself for such a thought, and if I had not liked to have sent the money, I should have told you so. As to any favour done you, for my part, I know of none that I am not well convinced you would have done with the greatest cheerfulness for me or any other gentleman; therefore, if I have rendered you any small service I am doubly rewarded, as it is no more than my duty as a man; and knowing it is for a gentleman who has every right to them, and ten times more from all his fellow creatures; and all the acknowledgment I am ambitious of, is to hear if you have received them, and that they are just what you wanted.

I am sorry it is not in my power to send you a tube for your barometer, no such thing being to be got. Here is a snow arrived from Bengal as the freight ship, and I thank God no other coming. The vessel is my brother's, and all the goods consigned to me, which gives me great hopes of selling all, and getting away some time in June next. Haverkam and Potter desire their respects to you and Signor Luigi, to whom I beg you will make mine also.

I think I need not make any other apology for the Welsh-English, and incorrectness you will find in all my letters, than to acquaint you that the enditer is the son of a poor Welshman, who never had the advantage of an education, and the transcriber a scholar of his. My very

* Captain of one of the native ships trading between Egypt and Mecca.

best wishes attend you, Sir; and I hope in God I shall one time or other have the happiness of seeing you in the land of liberty; in the mean time, believe me, I am, dear Sir, with respect, your much obliged and obedient servant,

THOMAS PRICE.

P. S. As soon as I received your packet, I got yours to the Selidar translated as I have informed you above; and desired him to send me the letters you wrote for, but he being at Mecca, it took up some time before he sent them; and when they came he only sent one of each for Adowa and Massowa, on which I wrote him again, and desired he would send me one for Sennaar; he sent for answer, that he had given you very strong letters for Sennaar before. Indeed, Sir, I did not expect I should get any answer or letters, the Selidar being very busy in settling some disputes with the sheriffes at Mecca, and the boat to sail to-day.

I hope Mr Bruce will not think I want to make a merit of any thing I do for him. No; believe me, Sir, there is nothing gives me greater pleasure than being useful to any of my friends; but I am sure you would pity me if you were to see what a tribe of blood-suckers I have round me at this very moment, plaguing me for customs, boat-hire, &c. &c. although I have not sold a piece of either last year's goods or this.

I hope you will not omit writing by all opportunities, as it will give me great pleasure to hear of your health, and believe me to be yours very sincerely.

DEAR SIR, JIDDA, *May* 10. 1770.

This serves to inclose you duplicates of a letter and account-current sent you under date the 6th March, which I sincerely hope you have received long ere this. I have the pleasure to inform you, that yours from Gondar of 20th February 1770 was delivered me on the 5th instant with your box of shells, which I will take care to forward to Cairo; and your letter of advice, and first bill of exchange for 150l. on Drummond and Company, which gentleman, I am sorry to inform you, died the 2d of February 1769.

By the caravan to Mecca I received a box with some books and medicines, which I opened, to put in the bale of your money, and the powder you sent for. I wish it were better, it would have been much at your service. Here is no vessel from India but my brother's from Bengal, and the Surat freight ship, neither of which have any such thing as a barometer, or do I hear any thing of the china you sent for by Captain Pitullo, or any letter or mention made of you by Mr Russel to any of the gentlemen come this year.

I am exceedingly glad to hear of the kind reception you have met with at Gondar; but think your case particularly hard to have the principal object of your journey so very uncertain, after all the anxiety, trouble, and fatigue, that you have gone through; but I hope in God it will all end entirely to your wishes.

Some days ago, Said Ali Nahaal sent me word, that the box I sent you on the 6th of March was safe arrived at Massowa, and to-day he sent me word there is another opportunity to send to you. I am now repacking your box, and shall send it to him to-morrow with your money, the powder, and some letters which I received from Cairo.

As to the Turks beating the Russians, if the people of Jidda were to be believed, you would imagine they had taken the best part of their country, and killed the greatest part of their army; but I have very good reason to believe it is just the reverse. I suppose you will have the particulars in your French papers.

I am sorry to acquaint you that I have suffered greatly in mind, and very considerably in my property, since you left us; and, to add to my misfortunes, am likely to lose all the money I have sent home by French bills, for the use of my poor family and relations, amounting to 1800l.; the French East India Company being bankrupt. These, Sir, and a great quantity of goods which I have still on my hands, make me very unhappy, and render me very unfit to answer your letter as I could have wished. I earnestly wish that you will not neglect to write me by all opportunities, as it will give me great pleasure to hear of your health, and that you have received both your boxes safe. I think there is every thing you sent for except the barometer, which you certainly should have

had, had it been possible to have procured one. You must direct my letters to Jidda, to the care of Mahomed Said, in English and Arabic.

You may depend I will not neglect to get you every assistance I possibly can from the Selidar as soon as he comes to Jidda; he has not been here since August last, but is expected soon. I am in great hopes I shall have a few lines from you, with an account of your having received the box safe, before I leave this port, which I hope will be some time in next month. Haverkam and Potter beg you will accept of their best wishes; and pray give our compliments to Signor Lewis. That every happiness may attend you, is the most sincere wish of, dear Sir, your much obliged and most obedient servant,

THOMAS PRICE.

No. XXVII.

Mr Bruce to Mr R. Wood.

SIR, GONDAR IN ABYSSINIA, *March* 1. 1770.

I did myself the honour of writing you from Syria soon after my return from Palmyra, and still later from Cairo in the end of November 1768, just before my leaving that city.

It was in the beginning of December we embarked on the Nile, the season of southerly winds, which had blown for six weeks very violently. The Nile was low and shallow in many places, and every body foresaw we were to have a difficult and tedious voyage. The contrary, however, for we no sooner got into lat. 29°. about 60 miles south of Cairo, than we found the wind directly north, and so it continued all the time we were in Egypt, with very little intermission.

I do not know if you were ever in Egypt; there is not, I believe, any considerable voyage attended with less fatigue and danger than that of the Nile. The boats are very commodious, and well adapted to the river wherein they navigate. In other places they would be absolutely useless. Ours was but 60 feet in keel, yet had a mainsail yard near 120 English feet, which is larger than that of a 74 gun ship. With this prodigious pressure of sail we went with a very moderate wind eight and nine miles an hour, against one of the strongest currents in the world.

We had very strong letters from the government of Cairo, which enabled us to land wherever we judged proper. We observed the lat. and long. of all the remarkable places, and designed the course of the river in perfect liberty near Reremont; but on the opposite side we saw two columns of white marble, with architrave and frize of Greek architecture, which I take to be the remains of Antinoopolis, built by Adrian. I do not remember that they have been taken notice of by any traveller, though it is the only monument of that kind in Egypt.

There is nothing else remarkable till we come to Dendera, unless it be an inscription, much defaced, upon a large block of marble, which served as the architrave to the gate to the ancient town of Ackmim, ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ. ΠΑΝΙ. ΘΕΩ. which seems to fix Panopolis here, though its situation in Ptolemy be somewhat different. Dendera, as Tentyra was formerly, is still remarkable for its groves of palm trees. The Eygptian temple at this place is the most entire and most magnificent in Egypt. The plan of the temple is perhaps as elegant as any Greek one whatever. A person who applies himself to the study of hieroglyphics, may here find employment for a life-time.

We visited next the ancient Thebes, still known by the name of Medinat Thebo. It is situated at the very root of the ridge of barren sandy mountains that here bounds the valley; all before, and to the right and left, is a very fertile plain. It is something more than a mile from the river opposite to what seems the principal building in the city. In the middle of the plain, between the town and river, are two statues in a sitting posture, about forty feet high, covered with hieroglyphics, but on one there is a Greek and Latin inscription. Two villages at war with each other hindered me from being able to copy those or the Latin;

I saw only " Memnonem loquentem audivit." I hope to be able to read the whole at my return. Behind Elgourni, which is but a continuation of ancient Thebes, are sepulchres of the kings, each hewn out in the rock, each occupying a distinct mountain. Within they are covered with very fine stucco, with hieroglyphics moulded very neatly in relief. These sepulchres are divided into very large apartments, and the entrance of these interrupted by a multitude of large gates. Whether these shut formerly with doors of stone or metal I know not, but I imagine the extraordinary number of these, all very large and magnificent, which are to be seen in all these sepulchres, that are so many natural Pyramids, may have given the name Hecatompylæ to Thebes. The sepulchres are still called beeban, the gates, by the Egyptians *. Certainly Thebes itself, imagine its figure what we will, cannot have had the fifth of that number. The temple and hieroglyphics at Thebes are very entire. The latter in greater variety than any where else.

Medinat Thebo is opposite Luxor and Carnac, if the whole be not one city Diospolis; I take Carnac to be Ptolemy's Civitas Apollinis. There are two fine obelisks at Luxor quite entire. This, and Medinat Thebo, are the two largest scenes of ruins in Egypt, and it is at the two last places we first see any considerable quantity of porphyry or granite. Indeed even here there is but little of the former.

There is little pleasure, and still less instruction, in examining Egyptian architecture. What I expected, however, firmly, was, that I should see plainly, and to my full conviction, the great analogy between the Doric order and this, which is by all affirmed to have given rise to it; the Doric column being, it is said, plainly a copy of the more solid and shorter Egyptian. Whether the Doric was the first order in Greece, whether it arose from an imitation of those of Egypt, I will not say; but it is false that the Doric is less solid than the Egyptian. All the columns in these temples exceed nine diameters, and the ancient did not arrive at five; there are examples still existing where the column is little more than four. If we found then the proof of the Greek orders arising

* *Beb* is the Coptic for a cave, or sepulchre; the Arabs borrowed the word, in this sense, from the Egyptians.

from the Egyptian from a similitude of proportions, there is a greater affinity between the Egyptian column, and the Ionic or Corinthian, than the Doric.

From Luxor we returned to Bajoura, a village upon the Nile, two miles from Furshout, the residence of the Arab Shekh, Haman, who rents all upper Egypt, except an inconsiderable part, of the Grand Signior. Five thousand camels, loaded with corn, were ready to be sent to Mecca. The corn was ready to be embarked on the Red Sea, at Cossir; and to arrive here, they were to pass that desert mountainous tract which separates the Nile from the Red Sea, six days journey, where there is no water but what is carried upon camels. It rains here violently at times from November to March. In many places in the mountains the water is preserved throughout the year. These places are known only to the Arabs, who come and encamp there on hearing of caravans being to pass: it was not till the middle of March the caravan could venture, and it was with difficulty we passed at last, though escorted by 500 horse. In this journey we found the quarries from which the ancients had extracted that prodigious quantity of porphyry and granite. After the second day's journey begin the porphyry and granite, then marbles of different colours, chiefly green, all of the finest kinds. We saw quantities of serpentine, and that called verde antico in less proportion; variegated marble, of different sorts; and, in the last day's journey, before we arrived on the Red Sea, jasper in great plenty. The jasper does not grow like the marble in a mountain by itself, it runs in large veins in mountains of green marble. I have sent eleven specimens of different kinds of porphyry to Cairo.

The distance between the Nile and the Red Sea is about 70 miles, though in the maps it is run out nearly to 300; the reason is, that inclining the Red Sea more than they should do, they have made the Nile run perpendicular to the Mediterranean, though, in fact, it runs parallel to the Red Sea. This makes the error more considerable, and it becomes the more so, the more the course of the Nile is prolonged, which, notwithstanding the strange forms those geographers have made this river take in passing through Nubia to diminish this difference, still it is here so great as to make Abyssinia twice the breadth it is.

Cosseir is a miserable village close to the sea. There is no port; small vessels, which are only employed in running across to the Arabian shore and back again, anchor behind a rock, which shelters them from the wind. Mr Huet takes this to be Berenice, but that city was under the tropic, and the latitude of Cosseir is 26° 7′ 51″, and its longitude 34° 16′ 15″ E. from London. It appears to me to be the Portus Albus of antiquity, and to have taken its name from the two white chalk-like cliffs, very high, which are to the north of the place where the old town stood. Water is here bad and scarce, and nothing in plenty but good fish. It was indeed a town of the Ichthyophagi.

We embarked at Cosseir the 11th of April, in a vessel, the planks of which were sewn together with small cords, which, in my opinion, far from implying danger, makes them the safer embarkation in this sea of shoals and banks, where navigation is so ill understood. The wind, favourable at first, changed and blew hard, and carried us before it down again to the east of Arabia Petræa, the morning being hazy till near noon, when it cleared, and we saw, on the Arabian shore, a cape, which we after found to be Ras Mahomet, one of those which form the entrance of the Elanitic gulf, whose latitude I then observed 27° 54′, so that we had got down near Mount Sinai. A few days after, with a more favourable wind, coasting Arabia Deserta, and anchoring every evening, we arrived at Yimbo.

Yimbo, corruptly called Yambo, or Iambo, has been an excellent port, though now, in great part, filled up with sand. It is a small town, and has a castle, now gone to ruins, which seems to have been built in the time of the Saracens. Yimbo is in latitude 24° 3′ 35″, and 37° 57′ 35″ E. longitude from London; it is, after Jidda, the port most frequented in Arabia Deserta; here all the corn comes from Egypt, without which Arabia could not subsist. It is carried hence in carts by land to Mecca and Medina. Yimbo is the port of Medina.

I should have been glad to have made the rest of my journey to Jidda by land, but no Christian can be admitted to travel in Arabia Deserta, this ground having been sanctified by the many expeditions and journies of the prophet. We were therefore content to continue our voyage by sea, and from thence, as occasion offered, to make small incursions into

the forbidden country. Having therefore got our Rais* in our interest, by the usual and only means, we anchored the first night in a small port (Djar) in latitude 23° 36′. It is of a circular form, safe and good anchorage. The weather hindered my sounding, or making a design of it, and it is the only port, I think, that has escaped me. The next day we anchored off Rabac, still a better port than Djar, and encamped on the shore. Here we were to wait the arrival of a man sent in to the country from Yimbo, to bring me the balsam tree, for which, formerly, this country was so famous. It grows at Beder, at no great distance from the coast, and we received it safe and entire, with all its leaves, fruit, and root. We likewise, in this port, made a large addition to our collection of natural history, already very considerable. Rabac is in 22° 45′ latitude. From Rabac, passing by places of less note, we came to Jidda on the 6th of May.

There were eleven English ships at Jidda from India; there were seven ships in the other ports of the Red Sea, Mocha, Loheia, &c.; the eleven at Jidda had paid that year of duties to the Sheriffe of Mecca and Grand Signior about 47,000l. Sterling; yet this cannot persuade these people that it is their interest to use us well; and it was the common opinion of all the captains and supercargoes there, that they must abandon their trade entirely, so much the extortions and abuses multiply upon them daily. Jidda harbour is one of the largest in the Red Sea, but it is full of rocks and sand banks; however, all the danger is in sight, and when vessels are once anchored, they are perfectly safe in all weathers. Its latitude is 21° 28′ 1″, and longitude 39° 21′ 30″ east from London; it is the sea-port of Mecca.

We left Jidda the beginning of July, and continued along the coast of Arabia Deserta to Ras Hali, a cape which divides the states of the Sheriffe of Mecca from those of Yemen or Arabia Felix. It is in latitude 18° 6′; all to the southward belonging to another sheriffe, called the Iman, who resides inland at Sanaa, in latitude 15° 21′. All the sea-coast there is desert, as that of Arabia Deserta, but full of good ports and good anchoring places. The beginning of August we arrived at

* Captain.

Loheia; it is a town of some trade, built on the point of a tongue of land at the entrance of a great bay now half filled up with mud, and where there is no water for any vessel of burden; it is in latitude 15° 40′ 52″ and 42° 54′ east longitude. Here we waited till the beginning of September, when we embarked on board a small bark for Massowa*. In this second voyage across the Red Sea, we passed Jibel Teir, formerly a volcano, and which has probably occasioned the number of banks and shoals, of which this sea is full. It flames no more, but sends forth a smoke in winter. In the end of September we arrived at Massowa.

It has excellent ports for the largest vessels, is a small barren island, scarce 300 yards long, without any water, but that fetched from Arkiko in the main land. It was once, together with Suaken, a place of the greatest trade. The cruelties exercised upon the Banian merchants have ruined all. The Indian trade and pearl fishery all are gone, and the place is now occupied by one called the Naibe, an Arab sheriffe, who commands a parcel of robbers and pirates. I never, I think, was in more imminent danger of being robbed and murdered than here. We escaped, thank God, by a kind of miracle, without either. Massowa is the entrance of Abyssinia, beyond which no Europeans, all called Franks here, are allowed to pass; it is in latitude 15° 35′ 5″ and 38° 48′ 45″ E. longitude from London. After having suffered a thousand vexations and difficulties, we were at last allowed to enter Abyssinia; we were all along dressed as Greeks; as such we have passed till this day. We arrived at Gondar, the capital, in the end of February. I cannot give you a better idea of the difficulty of travelling in this country than in informing you, that I was about sixty-one days between Massowa and Gondar, which may be about 200 miles, part of which I have performed on foot; my telescopes, pendulum, and quadrant, being the heavy part of my baggage, have given me great trouble. It cost me ten men to carry my quadrant on their shoulders, and often I have been obliged to assist them, to give them courage. We have passed all that time in our tent, lying on the ground, with seldom any provisions but bread and

* Mr Bruce does not mention here his southern excursion. Loheia was the place where his guide was to join him.

water; sometimes a little honey and coffee, for all this country is as it were a desert. In our way to Gondar, we passed through Axum, the ancient capital of this country, now reduced to a large village; it is in latitude 14° 6′ 36″.

I will not incur the exception made against young travellers, that they begin a description of the country and manners of the people as soon as they arrive in a strange country. Besides, my letter is already too long. I shall only say, I never yet saw a nation so barbarous, and I think I have seen many barbarians. I shall finish with informing you of my situation with respect to my voyage to the head of the Nile. Mihcael, governor of Tigré, first defeated, and then privately put to death, Joas the king, when I left Egypt. In his place he brought his grand-uncle Hannes from the mountain where the royal family is kept. Hannes died while I was on the road from Massowa, and his son, Teclahaimanout, a boy of about 12 years old, is the present king; a nominal one indeed, for all the government is in the hands of the governor of Tigré. The people of Damot, and part of Gojam, alone hold for the late king's party; and as they have brought with them the Galla, a very numerous and barbarous nation, ill luck will have it, those have occupied the spot where are those fountains. I am now at Emfras, on the side of the lake Tzana, as near as I can guess about 45 miles from the heads of the Nile. We see the mountain from which it rises plainly with the naked eye; and the enemy have made incursions to the foot of the hill whereon we are, so that we are on the utmost verge of safety†. ****

† The copy of this letter, preserved among Mr Bruce's papers, is incomplete; and as it is not addressed to any person, it is difficult to ascertain for whom he intended it. From the expressions, however, at the beginning, and other circumstances, there can be little doubt that he designed it for Mr Wood. It is written on a very large sheet of what is called Dutch paper, some of which he got at Jidda, on his way to Habbesh. It contains the earliest account of his journey into that country.

No. XXVIII.

Letters addressed to Mr Bruce during his residence at Masuah and Gondar, or written on his account by princes from whom he obtained recommendations.* [*Translated from the Arabic.*]

1. *Letter from Metical Aga, prime minister to the Sheriffe of Mecca, to Mr Bruce at Jidda.*

Praise be to God alone, and blessing upon him who is for his prophets after him. To the example of sages (alhocma), worthy of honour, and the pillar of believers who are baptised, the wise (el Hakim Bruthi el Englese) Bruce, the Englishman; may God direct him, and on him be prosperity and peace, and may he prolong to him his favour. Next to this; we have received your letter, and understood the contents of it, and what you mention respecting your arrival from Messir (Cairo), and that the object of your desire is Habbesh, and that you wish to obtain letters from us. We will prepare letters of recommendation agreeable to your mind, and our intention is that you shall have a companion from amongst our people, who are travelling from us; they are well acquainted with the inhabitants and the countries in the west, and will inform you in every thing better than if you were travelling alone; and so we will write letters of recommendation only for Masuah, and we will make our people set out in a short time. Also, we will not fail to come to Jidda, and be informed by you, face to face. May your affairs by sea go prosperously, and to your mind. Let this much be known to you; and on this subject enough for the present. May God bless him who follows

* Under this number are arranged such of the Arabic letters written for Mr Bruce as are found among his papers, and seem to be of importance in establishing facts mentioned in the Life and the Travels. They afford sufficient proof, if any were necessary, of the great precaution with which he travelled, and of the favours which he received from persons of rank and dignity in the east.

the right way.—Written on the 14th day of the month Moharram el Harâm, in the year 1183. And may God bless our apostle Mahommed, his family, companions, &c.

The clock (saât darabe) which you presented to us is received, and it diverts our son Jawher Metical. Be this known to you; and let this much suffice. May God bless our prophet, &c. &c.

Address. To the town of Jidda. For the example of sages, &c. [the same as in the introduction.]

2. *Letter of Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, in answer to his, requesting letters of recommendation to the king of Sennaar.*

Praise be to God alone. To the example, &c. [same epithets as above] ....Bruce el Hakim, may God direct him. Next; we received your letter, and understood the contents of it, and with regard to what you mention concerning a letter to the king of Sennaar, you may depend on it for your journey. As to the medicine you sent us, it is received as you mentioned, but we do not know how to use it; fail not to instruct us in that particular. And if he is with you, or with any one near you, inform our servant Farage of it; he will receive for us whatever you communicate. And, if he is with you, send him and instruct us in the whole truth. God is every where; he will direct us how to do. God is in that. Salute in our names all the *captains*, and let this suffice.—Written on the 12th day of the month Sepher, 1183.

[Address on the back as above.]

3. *Letter of Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, respecting his journey to Sennaar.*

Praise be to God alone. To the example of sages, worthy of honour, the pillar of believers, &c. (as above) el Hakim Bruthi, el Nazarani (Christian) may God direct him—We have received your letter, and understood your discourse, and now we have sent you letters for travelling, and in them all the truth. With respect to what you have mentioned concern-

ing the letter, which we are to give you further to the Sultan of Sennaar, we will send a companion for you, our messenger, Othman, the Turk, going from us with charge. And you must not go from Habbesh to Sennaar, unless he be before you; and we will give him more orders respecting you. And when you have come to that place, we will inform him that he give you letters and bring you to the Sultan; and he will serve you, and recommend you to the Sultan. And may there happen no change disagreeable to you in this. And the letter for Masuah also, when we have given it into your hands, may it be according to your wish. Of this we have informed you, and of the letter which goes by the hand of Mahommed, who is to accompany you. We have given him further orders respecting you; so let your mind be glad, and may no change (accident) befall you either in Masuah, Habbesh, or Sennaar. The strengthening medicines, which we mentioned formerly, commit to our servant Farage Muggrebi, and inform him how they are to be used. God, God is in that. And on this subject enough. And God bless him who follows the right way. Written on the 15th day of Sepher, 1183. And God bless our Lord Mahommed, his family, friends, &c. *.

4. *Letter from Bajerund Janni, Ras Michael's deputy-governor at Adowa, in Tigré, to Mr Bruce at Masuah*†.

Praise be to God alone. To the presence of the exalted nobleman, the honourable, the brave, the liberal, the generous friend, the faithful Bruce; may God direct him. So be it. After salutation; if you enquire after us, praised be God, we are all well and in health, wishing only to hear the same of you, and, if God will, better than that. We now inform you that we have received your honoured letter, and understood the contents of it. Praise be to God for his protection, and may our Lord make us meet together in safety. You mentioned to us in your letter, that you

* These letters were written from Mecca, where Metical resided, and sent to Mr Bruce at Jidda. The fall of Ras Michæl prevented the Sheriffe's minister from sending a person to conduct Mr Bruce to Sennaar.

† This letter is alluded to Travels Vol. IV. p. 228.

are afraid in the journey to Habbesh, because of the war, which is in the hands of God only, but fear not, for God is with you. Further, I, who am unworthy, have written a letter on your account to the beloved and brave, the Naybe Othman Aga, that he provide for you a safe place, and supply you with whatever things you want, and conduct you to Dixan. Also, we have written to Ahmed Aga, son of the renowned, the Naybe Hassan, and to Hagi Jabuhadekay, that they provide you with a safe place, and a residence where you may dwell, till you come to us, and supply you with necessaries, and give you all that you shall have occasion for, and conduct you to Dixan with your chosen servants, and my servant now going to you. And inform him of whatever you need, and he will demand it for you; and come to Dixan with my servant, and send us notice of your arrival there. With respect to the letters which you sent to us with the knowledge of the Naybe Othman Aga, Ahmed Aga, and Hagi Jabuhadecay, they were given to me. With regard to the letter brought by Sidi Francis we sent it to Gondar. And if you inquire at us about Ras Michael; he is happy, in good health, and well, and on his way returning to Gondar. For certain. May our Lord comfort you with safety and peace. Salute in our name Mahommed Gibberti, the respected. Peace; and again Peace be upon you. (Letter from Bajerund Janni).*

5. *Letter from Metical Aga to Mr Bruce, in answer to one sent by him to Mecca, with Jawher, the Sheriffe's servant, who had conducted the new Abuna into Habbesh.*

Praise be to God alone. To the presence of the example of the wise, deserving honour, the Christian; may the supreme God direct him. We inform you of the receiving of letters concerning you from the countries of Habbesh, Adowa, and Ras Michael, with recommendation of you; also the Naybe Othman Aga in Masuah has informed us that

* All of Janni's letters have a Greek sentence written on the back by himself. His secretary wrote the rest.

he forwarded you with safe persons that might conduct you to Adowa, and that you were in company with our son, Mahommed Gibberti. Let this be known to you; and also the receipt of the letter sent by our son, Jawher, and of the pistols committed to the charge of our servant Jawher. Be this known to you. And a letter for Ras Michael will come to you along with this. And on this subject enough. May God bless him that follows the right way; and may he bless our Lord (Sidana) Mahommed, his family, companions, &c.

(No date.)

6. *Letter of Metical Aga to Othman Aga, Naybe of Masuah, on the subject of Mr Bruce.*

To the presence of the exalted chief, worthy of honour and regard, brave, spiritual, religious, upright, exemplary, pious; our beloved and valuable friend the Naybe Othman Aga; may peace from the supreme God be upon him, and may God bestow on him life, power, honours, grace, and blessings. After introduction, the subject of a letter from the fortified Mecca, the noble, may God increase its prosperity and fame—is that brought by Jawher, who accompanied the Abuna; and we have informed you before of the whole truth. If you inquire at us about the affairs of the two sacred countries* (beladi-el-haramin) the deputy and Basha arrived at the town of Jidda in the month of Shawal, and he is a good man. We informed you before that you should assist us with the *miri* (tribute), and we hope in God that this our letter will reach you soon; and all requests from us.—And so be not afraid, because that we have received a letter from the Christian, El Hakim, Mr Bruthi†, who went with Mahommed Gibberti, our messenger into Habbesh, in which he informs us, that after you had given him common necessaries from the town, and brought him to Arkeeko, that you got from him presents and 300 *rial*‡ *Franse* (patakes) and that your

* Mecca and Medina.

† This word is written in Arabic Mustir; it was inserted verbally from the English.

‡ Rial; in the plural, rjalat, an Imperial dollar, or pataka.

first demand was a thousand *rials*, which was not deserved by you from him whom we sent from our quarter with letters from us. Honours were due to him, because we became surety for his intention, and his having abandoned the love of the world. And now certify us in that matter; and whatever you received from him send it to us. And do not act improperly in this thing, of which we give you information, and may God bless you. Salute in our name your whole family (soldiers), and Ahmed, and his people, and all that are with you; and all the young men from us, and Sheikh Hagi Omar and his people. And may God bless you. Written and sealed in the month of Dhulkaade-el-Harâm, 1183. And may God bless our Lord Mahommed, &c.

(Address on the back). To the town (Bender) of Masuah. Peace be upon the Syed, the exalted chief, worthy of honour and regard, &c. (as above, in the introduction to the letter)—the Naybe Othman Aga. commander in the town of Masuah; may G. direct him. 8642.

7. *Letter from Bajerund Janni at Adowa to Mr Bruce at Gondar, giving him notice of the arrival of a box and some articles from Captain Price at Jidda.*

Blessing and peace be upon him who is for his prophets after him; to the presence of Yagoube-el-Hakim, the possessor of high rank, true and faithful sentiments, stedfast in religion and counsel, may the supreme God preserve you. In him Amen. Your inquiry after us is most obliging; and we inquire after you only. If you ask concerning us, assuredly we are whole and well, and may you, if it please God, be better than that. After salutation: There has arrived here Hagi Jawher, attending the Abuna, who has delivered to our people a box with letters in it, informing you of its contents, which, when you shall receive from their hands, give the person who brings it a kefla and half a dahab. The expense for it is seven rials (pataka) to Mahommed Adoulai in the way from Masuah to Adowa; and four rials from Adowa to Gondar, and a kefla and half a dahab to him who delivers it; in all seven rials, and four give to our people, and the kefla and half-dahab

to the bearer. And when you have received the box, write a letter to the *Captain* that you have received it safely. Inform us also concerning the war, and the purposes which brought you from Egypt. With respect to the journey which you intend to make to the sources of the river (el maiat el bahar) before peace comes it will not be possible to travel in this way or that. Preserve yourself; and salute in our name our beloved Georgis, and your servant Michael, and our brother Asaleffi* Petros, and Sidi Paulos, and the people of our house (Greeks). An answer is expected. The writer of this letter (the scribe, or secretary of Janni) salutes you. Our brother, Constantine, the respected, salutes you. Peace be upon you.

8. *Letter from Sid Constantine, a Greek, who had carried several articles, intended by Mr Bruce for Arabia and Egypt, from Gondar to Janni of Adowa. Written from Adowa.*

Praise be to God alone. Blessings and peace be upon him who is for his prophets after him. To the presence of Yagoube el Hakim, &c. [Here the same epithets, inquiries after health, and the like, are used, which occur in the preceding letter of Janni.] After salutation. If you inquire concerning us, blessed be God, we arrived safely at the town of Adowa, and thought often on you, as God knows, who enabled us to travel from Gondar to Adowa. All the letters, and what you committed to our care, we delivered to Bajerund Janni. With respect to the trust which you consigned to us, we delivered it to our brother Petros; and with respect to the fifty pieces, there were spent of them six; four given to Sid Paulos; and two to Sid Socrates. The remaining 44 were delivered to our brother Petros. And may God favour your design, and peace. The whole medicines, &c. we delivered to Bajerund Janni. And with respect to letters for Egypt, we will receive them when it shall please God, and send them by Hagi Ali Nahal.† So keep your mind at ease. Farewell.

* Chamberlain. Petros had served king Joas in that capacity.

† Captain of a ship trading between Jidda and Masuah.

9. *Letter from Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce, on the subject of the preceding one.*

Praise be to God alone. Blessing and peace, &c. [verbatim as in letter 7th.] After salutation: Your respected letter came to us, and we understood it; and the letters which you sent for Egypt came to us, and the parchment for the book, and the medicine; also the packet of medicines, and letter for Metical Aga, all by the hand of our brother Constantine. And with regard to the packet of medicines, write to us how we shall dispatch them. Sealed letters for you, from Egypt, will come to the hand of our brother Asaleffi Petros, by the travellers, and also letters from Jidda, in answer to those which we dispatched from you by Hagi Ali Nahal, through the hands of Hagi Mahommed Adoulai; and the letters which are to be received by our brother Asaleffi Petros, and those the captain sent you by Hagi Ali Nahal, came first by him to Mahommed Adoulai*, who sent them by Hagi Jawher, servant of Metical Aga, that came to Dixan with the Abuna. When they came to us, we sent them to you. And give for customs to M. Adoulai in Masuah six rials, and for carriage, four, &c. [Here a paragraph is omitted relating to the expences of carriage, which he directs to be paid to Petros at Gondar.] With respect to the horns†, if it please God that we can get them, we will supply you, and as to the genuine tree of Abyssinian myrrh, Heaven will procure it. As to the book which they wrote in Axum, after the rains we will send it to you without fail. With regard to the History (Tarikh) of Ras Michael, we will cause it to be written for you, and nothing omitted. And our Lord eternal and supreme shall supply all our wants. Before I wrote you this letter, I sent you the watch, because it has stopped, and if you know how to put it right, do so, and send it to us; if not, you will take it with you to Egypt, whence you will send it to us in order. May God prolong your life, and peace be upon you.

* The Sheriffe's spy, or man of business, at Masuah.

† Large horns of cattle, used for holding liquors in Habbesh. Vide Travels, Vol. VI. p. 132, et cett. passim.

Salute from us our dear Georgis, and your servant Michael. The writer of this our letter salutes you; as also Hagi Mahommed Alamin. Our brother Sid Constantine salutes you, and thinks on you every hour. God knows he loves you much. Farewell.

10. *Letter of Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce at Gondar, written in June or July* 1770.

Blessings and peace on him who is for his prophets after him. To the presence of our dear Yagoube El Hakim, possessed of exalted rank, &c. [verbatim as in letter 7th.] After salutation: Lately we sent you letters in answer to those which you wrote to us. With regard to the box, write us whether you have received it, and to the Captain; may it come to him safely. With respect to yourself, we have written to the Iteghe (queen), that she cause to be restored to you what was taken from you by the sons of Basha Eusebius, and that she would protect you. May God the eternal and supreme protect you from evil. With respect to your books, they are written, and have been compared with the Tarikhe Sultane Yasou el Kebir* (History of King Yasous the Great). The Tarikh el Yawm (Chronicle) cannot be got here. The book which they wrote in Axum is transcribed, and after having compared it with various copies, I have given it to our people, in order that it may be sent to you. In this we are hindered by the rains, but after these, if it please God, it shall be sent you. With respect to the genuine horns of cows which we promised you, we expect some from Antalou after peace is established. The genuine plant of Abyssinian myrrh (mour el Habbesh) has not yet been brought to us; whenever it comes, we will send it to you. Salute from us our dear Sid Georgis, Michael, our brethren, and Sid Benati. The writer of our letter salutes you. May God prolong your life; and farewell.

(Address.) May it come to the hand of our dear Yagoube el Hakim. 8642.

* The books mentioned here are the History of Yasous (Vol. IV. of MS. Annals), and the book of Axum, described, Appendix, No. XLV.

11. *Letter from Bajerund Janni to Mr Bruce, about the same time.*

Praise be to God alone. Blessing, &c. [the introduction verbatim as in the former letters.] After salutation: Some time ago we wrote you respecting the box, and in answer to the letters you sent to us. The Captain and Hagi Ali Nahal both sought answers from us, which send to us. The caravan has brought to us letters from Hagi Ahmed Adoulai and Hagi Ali Nahal, which we have long since sent to you. The box and letters you sent are in Masuah, in the custody of Hagi M. Adoulai; if you give orders to have them dispatched by sea, we will do it; if not, they will remain where they are, at your pleasure. Inform the bearer of this letter respecting that. We have also written to the Iteghe, that she would protect you (may God the eternal and supreme protect you); and likewise to the Iteghe, that she would cause restitution to be made to you of what you were robbed of by the sons of Basha Eusebius. Write to us an answer for information respecting this. If you inquire for news of the affairs of Jidda, the Sheriffe Messaad is dead, and his brother, Sheriffe Ahmed, reigns; and Metical Aga is very well. With re gard to Ali Bey, he sent from Egypt four ships of war with troops, to make war upon Mecca, Jidda, and God knows where. If you ask respecting el Mascou and Islam (the Russians and the Turks), no new accounts have come to us. With regard to your brothers in Jidda, they are all well. Salute from us our dear Georgis, Michael, &c. May God prolong your life. Farewell.

12. *Letter from Metical Aga, recommending Mr Bruce to Seifi Aga, Basha of Souakin.*

Praise be to God. To the exalted commander, worthy of honour and respect, Hagi Seifi Aga, may God preserve him. After this: If you ask after us, assuredly we are well, and in good health, and desire the same of you. The cause of our writing this letter to you, is a letter intended for the presence of Baady, king of Sennaar, and the contents of

it are concerning the recommendation of a man, one of the great men of the English (regel min adima el Englese) who came to us with the highest recommendations from Stamboul and Messir (Constantinople and Cairo), and asked our assistance, which we have granted, with recommendation. He is at present in Habbesh, and intends to go to Sennaar; and he has sent and asked from us a letter to the king, with recommendation to him. We have also written for him this letter, and if he comes to you, forward him, as we have written to you with commendation and friendship for him; because the man is of this sort, he is a supporter and assister of the benefit of the country, and studious only of goodness and justice. We commit you to the protection of God. Written on the 11th of the month Dhulkaade el Haram, 1183.

For the town of Souakin. To the exalted commander, &c. (as above) Hagi Seifi Aga. May God preserve him.

13. *Letter from Abd-el-Jileel, formerly Governor of Ras-el-feel, to Mr Bruce*, 1771*.

Praise be to God alone, and Mahommed is the apostle from God. To the extended shadow, the overflowing river, that sweeps away whatever is scattered and loose, the destroying lion, the devouring tiger, the generous harvest that spreads liberality, &c. The Shekh Abd-el-Jileel, son of the honoured Shekh Bashir, son of Hagi Omar el Ferbawi, salutes the company of el Hakim Yagoube. Salutation from your elder and younger brother. Abd-el-Jileel salutes a second time, the writer, along with el Hakim Yagoube, the traveller of Shekh Confu, from Gondar to Sherkin (Tcherkin), from Sherkin to Kanjuk (Ganjook), from Kanjuk to Ras-el-feel, from Ras-el-feel to Rashid, from Rashid to Teawa, from Teawa to Beyla, from Beyla to Bajbuje (Basboch), from Bajbuje

* This is one of the letters which Abd-el-Jileel wrote to Mr Bruce at Gondar. Both this man and Fedaile pretended friendship to Ayto Confu's traveller, with the design of murdering him when convenient. The stages between Gondar and Sennaar are enumerated in this letter.

to Sennaar. Praise be to God for his friendship. Fedaile is a friend. Abd el Phatei, Shekh of Beyla, is the friend and companion (rafik wasahaba) of the traveller of Shekh Confu. Our Sid Belaho will not fail to bring you to Tcherkin; from Tcherkin send word to us, that we may forward you on your way. And peace be upon you a thousand thousand times. The *Erbab* Ali Ibn Waheb ullah also salutes you with much peace.

14. *Letter of Ismail, king of Sennaar, recommending Mr Bruce to Shekh Ibrahim Walad Musnad.* 1772.

In thy name, O most Gracious.

In the name of God, the merciful, the gracious. Praise be to God, who has sent his prophet, and we believe in what he has said.

[The impression of the royal signet, placed after this, has the words Al Watek bil Mulk al hadai Assultan Ismail Ben Assultan Bâde. 1183. The truster in the directing king, the Sultan Ismail, son of Sultan Baady.]

From the presence of the Sultan of the Moslems, and the Chalife of the Lord of both worlds, upright in spiritual and temporal affairs, the prosperous establisher of the Moslems, the conquering sheriffe, Sayyed al mursalin (prince of those that were sent), the standard-bearer of justice and virtue towards all mankind, the guardian of the country, the conqueror of slaves, the subduer of the people that are infidels and out of the right way, and of the people that are wicked and perverse; may the mercy of the eternal and supreme God be upon the presence and dignity of our lord and chief, and may we conquer and subdue our enemies; Al Watek bil Mulk alhadia, the sultan, who is the son of sultans, the sultan, who is the conqueror of kings, Ismail, son of the renowned sultan Baady, may the most merciful God gave him victory, and may the august Koran, and the glorious prophet guide him. So be it. So let it be, O Lord of both worlds!—To the presence of Shekh Ibrahim Wulad Musnud, may great peace be upon you. The cause of our writing is this: If there come to you, with this letter, El Hakim Yagoube, sent to us by the Sultan of Habbesh, with strong recommendations,

and besides all these the Sheriffe, the Sultan of Mecca, recommended him to us, and said this man* is wise, and a foreigner, and is travelling in your quarter; supply him with necessaries for his journey, and while he stays; and this Hakim has been here, and is gone from our land on his way to you, and towards Rîf. What he asks for his journey, give him, and honour him with true honours, because he is a stranger, and recommended to us by kings. Supply him with necessaries for his stay and journey, and send him forward with his companions in whom he has trust. And, after you have forwarded him, write to us that he is gone, with his people, in health and safety, that the fore-mentioned kings may be informed of it with full certainty. And we rely upon you with full certainty; and let no answer come from you, but with praise and thanksgiving to God. God is over that. Farewell.

15. *Letter of Shekh Adelan*†, *vizier to the king of Sennaar, recommending Mr Bruce to Shekh Musnad, father of Ibrahim above-mentioned.*

In the name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God alone, and Mahommed great is his glory.

[On the seal is el-Watek-billah warrasoul almahi Assheik Adelan ben Assheikh Subahi, 1176.]

After the salutation of peace from the most high God with his mercy, blessing, and favour. From the presence of him, who has hope in his virtues, and fortitude under his affliction, endowed with upright counsel and clear judgment, useful among the children of the sword, the liberal warrior, who is fortunate in this world, and, if it please God, shall be happy in the next, Al Watek Billah warrasoul almahi, the Shekh Ade-

* Hakim implies more than a physician, though it includes that signification.

† For an account of this gallant and generous chief see Travels, Vol. VI. p. 353, et seqq. He calls himself on the seal, which is much larger than that of the king, "The truster in God and the destroying prophet, Adelan, son of Shekh Subahi." It is uncertain to what Arab Shekh the letters from Adelan and the king were written, as the names of Ibrahim and Musnad do not occur in Mr Bruce's narrative. They were undoubtedly heads of tribes in the way to Egypt.

lan, son of the renowned Shekh Subahi, may God bless him, Amen. To the presence of Shekh Musnad, Shekh Adelan salutes you with abundant peace, and will bestow on you more power and honours. What we have to inform you of in this is the coming to you of El Hakim Yagoube, our friend and our companion (sahibna warafikna), and the friend of the king. The Sheriffe of Mecca sent letters with him to us long ago, in which he said to us, Supply him with necessaries *, that, accommodated by you on our account, he may pass through all the dominions of the king of the Funge.—Fail not with respect to the traveller, who may be of benefit to thy life, for he is one of the men who are skilled in the cure of diseases; his travelling is for knowledge, and his ornament is his fortitude. Strengthen your heart towards him, and convey him along with his people to Rîf; for he is a man that has not with him money, or a number of people; he has only books and medicines; and his camels loaden with his books and medicines, and his horse. He has with him nothing else. His camels also are weak: retain them, and forward him with others, in order that you may fulfil what is most just. And that he may go with peace we have written to you.

16. *Letter of Shekh Adelan to Ali Bey, announcing the departure of Mr Bruce from Sennaar to Egypt.* 1772.

In the name of the most merciful God, the Lord of both worlds. Blessing and peace be upon our Lord Mahommed, his family and friends, the supporters, who are majestic, pure, illustrious, and radiant.

[The seal with the inscription on it above-mentioned.]

May it come with the sprinkling of the dew of perfume, scented with ambergris and odours, to the presence excelling in bounty, that speaks virtue and piety, the fountain of excellence and perfections, the spring of honours and favours, the horse that first reaches the goal, the chief of the masters of exalted eloquence, whose way of life increases his power,

* Abakou alaihi ishrat. Ishrat is translated by Golius, conversatio, mutua consuetudo, familiare consortium.

the drawn sword of God over every commander, and the arrow of prudence over every conqueror. So be it. The resplendent majesty, the chief of the chiefs of Cairo (Messir al Cahira) may God exalt his high rank, and make the backs of his enemies the place of his sword; may the arrows of his troops never forsake his flying enemies, and the armies of his terror be in their dejected hearts; may the bridle of his firm purpose train them to obedience, and the wisdom of his policy tame all their skill. The Shekh super-excellent and illustrious, glorious in his benefits to all mankind, bright in the love of his heart towards the explainers of what is dark, the prince of the city of Cairo the fortified, may God make the tree of peace flourish in his heart—Omir Allawat*, the Sanjack, Ali Bey, God is with him—Amen. Your friend, Shekh Adelan, salutes you with exceeding peace, and prays for an increase of your power and honour. Next. What calls us to the intercourse of these letters, and the cause of our composing them is, that your servant, El Hakim Yagoube, came to us from the land of Habbesh with letters from the Sultan of Mecca and Metical Aga, and letters also from the Sultan of Habbesh, that we should treat him with kindness and civilities, and forward him speedily on his way to your presence; and we desired him to stay until we might be beneficent to him, but he refused and would not, fearing blame from you and your authority over all. So he is gone from us to seek you, with friendship and peace, and we hope that he will obtain his desire from those that know what is hid, in order that your friendship may be more fully established towards us, and that you may be joined to us more nearly, and that amity may be between our house and your house; and let us not be deprived of letters from you, for correspondence is half an interview †.

* This expression is a Turkish title; in Arabic, it seems to signify divine emir, or chief.

† This letter, which is a curious specimen of oriental epistolary writing, was not delivered by Mr Bruce, because Ali Bey was driven from Cairo before his return. It was known, indeed, at Sennaar, that Mahommed Aboudahab had dethroned his father-in-law; but, as Ali Bey was then alive, and at the head of an army, it seemed probable that he would recover his power. Mr Bruce went at Sennaar under the character of the Bey's servant and physician, as stated in his letters to the king and Shekh Adelan. The above let-

17. *Translation of the Firman procured by Mr Bruce from Mahommed Bey Aboudahab, for the East India Company.* 1773.

We give thanks to the God of the whole world, wishing a good end to those who have good conduct, and the contrary to the unjust. God shall salute the most famous among his creatures, and his followers. Next. Let this order be obeyed with the assistance of God in all parts, which is written from the Divan of Cairo the fortified, and which contains an agreement with the esteemed Captains and Christian merchants, who are famed for their honesty, may they have a good end. Be it known to you all, as many of you as this reaches, that the honoured Yagoube el Hakim has come from us, and has given us to understand the injustice commonly practised by his majesty the Sheriffe of Mecca, and by his dependants in the place of Jidda, and that you wish to come into the port of Suez, but want security. It is very agreeable that you should enjoy this in the time of our king *, servant of the two holy places, and lord of the two lands and the two seas, may God always give him strength and victory. I make you sure, therefore, that you may come to Suez with your ships with good profit under the shadow of God and of our prophet, and under our own both far and near; and that you shall not be molested neither by us, nor our servants, our soldiers, nor our subjects, and that you shall not pay aught but eight per cent. of the said merchandise, or its value; and fifty pataka for each ship to the commandant of Suez, in name of anchorage; and that you may come to Cairo itself, and trade for money, or barter, as suits you best, without restraint from any one; and if it suits you better to trade at Suez, we will order the merchants thither without any body's incommoding, or troubling you. So you shall have repose more than you desired; and these promises are good and binding, and will not be changed to the contrary, so that you shall not pay any other expences to us or

ter was intended to inform the Bey, that Adelan had fulfilled his request respecting the traveller.

* The Grand Signior.

to our soldiers. And may the blessing of God rest on him that follows the right way. The 15th of the month Zilkaade, 1186*. (February, 1773.)

No. XXIX.

Letter of Luigi Balugani, written after the Journey to the sources.

Se io credevo di avere la stessa riputazione che sogliono avere la più parte de Viaggiatori verso di V. Eccza ometterò di renderla informata che doppo esser restati Otto Mesi a Gonder Villa Capitale di Etiopia senza potere giungere a vedere le sorse del Nilo, tanto in ogni tempo desiderate, finalmente, il giorno 18 di Novembre, con l' ajuto del Signore, siamo rientrati a Gonder di ritorno del sudetto Viaggio. Quest è la seconda volta che è stato intrapreso: La prima fù in Maggio scorso, ma con tale infelicità che fossimo spogliati il terzo giorno che eravamo sortiti, e computato le cose che ci sono state levate montavano al valore di circa 50 oncie d' oro; oltre di che poco è mancato che non vi lasciamo ancor la vita: Di quel tempo fino al giorno d' oggi il Governo ha sempre promesso di far restituere tutto; ma inutilmente. Questo ladro tiene parentela con la famiglia del Rè; e non è possible di potere fare nulla contro d' esso, ma a forza di parole si conduce di giorno in giorno finche verrà il tempo che noi partiremmo senza che hà restituto nulla di quanto abiamo perduto. Ma al giorno d' oggi pazienza; il Viaggio alle Fontane del Nilo che era il principale scoppo del Viaggio di Etiopia già è fatto, e poti-

* This translation is from an Italian version made at Cairo; the original being left there with the Venetian consul.

amo dire alla barba di tanti Sovrani de l'antichita che abbiamo visto quello che loro hanno tanto bramato, ma che per mancanza d' inteligenza hanno sempre preso quelle strade che li conducevano lontani del fine proposto. Se piace a Dio, al presente che ciò e fatto, non tardaremo molto a ritornare alla nostra casa, ed il mondo avra un istoria veridica di Etiopia con una carta delle più essette delli luoghi che noi abbiamo visto, e di sue situazione rilevate mediante observationi essattissime astronomiche fatte con grandi instromenti, dimostrando quanti errori sono stati fatti da quelli che hanno dati carte d' Etiopia, e quante buggie e false proposizioni sono state dette intorno li costumi, la religione, il governo, e tutto ció in somma che riguarda l' istoria di questo paese; il quale, a dir vero, io, che sono sopra il luogo, posso servire di testimonio che la massima parte di esso, o è assolutamente falso, o è molto diverso di quello che è stato scritto, sia per ignoranza o per altra ragione io non so: ma il fatto è cosi chiaro e costante che non è probabile di travidere, o essere ingannato.

Io no mi diffonderò dettagliando per minuto il nostro viaggio poiche questo potrebbe rendere disgustato il mio principale, che ne vuol dare una perfetta istoria; ma solamente io mi ristringerò a racontarla un costume usato de quei popoli vicini alle fontane del Nilo che quantunque si dicono Cristiani assolutamente per ciò si prova che non le sono che di nome e niente di fatto***.

[This paper is the scroll of a letter from L. Balugani, Mr Bruce's assistant, to some person of rank in Italy*. It is unfinished; without any address; all in Balugani's hand-writing, and curious, as it was written after the journey to the Sources.]

Translation.

If I thought I should have the same reputation with your excellency, that the most part of travellers usually have, I would omit to inform you, that, after having remained eight months in Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia, without being able to visit the sources of the Nile, so much

* Probably the Count di Ranuzzi.

sought after in every age, we have, at last, by God's assistance, entered Gondar, on the 18th of November, from that journey. It is the second time that it has been undertaken. The first was in May last, but with such bad fortune, that we were robbed the third day after our outset, and the value of what was carried off, is computed at 50 ounces of gold; besides, that we nearly lost our lives. Till this day the Government has always promised to make the whole be restored, but to no purpose. The robber is related to the royal family, and it is impossible to do any thing against him; the affair is protracted by words until the time come when we must depart, without any restitution of what we have lost. But patience! the journey to the fountains of the Nile, our principal object, is accomplished, and we can say, in the face of many sovereigns of antiquity, that we have seen what they had so long desired to see, but always, for want of information, took those roads which led them far from their purpose. Now, that this is done, if it please God, we shall not delay long to return home; and the world shall have a true account of Ethiopia, with a map of those places which we have visited, and their positions ascertained by most accurate observation with large instruments; shewing what errors have been committed by those who have given maps of Ethiopia, and what nonsense and false assertions have been uttered concerning the manners, religion, government, and, in short, all that relates to the history of the country—to the most part of which, I, who am on the spot, can bear witness, that it has either been absolutely falsified, or stated very far from the truth, whether through ignorance, or other causes, I know not; but the fact is so clear as to be indisputable.

I shall not enter into a detail of our journey, as that might displease my master, who intends to give a complete account of it; but shall confine myself to the description of a particular custom used by the people that live near the fountains of the Nile, who, though they call themselves Christians, appear from this to be only so in name but not in reality * * * *†.

† There is no date affixed to this letter, but it was probably written in November or December 1770, soon after visiting Agow-midre. It is to be regretted that Balugani did not

No. XXX*.

Letter of M. Belleville of Aleppo to Mr Bruce.

Au Caire, M. JAMES BRUCE.

MONSIEUR, ALEP, *le* 6 *Aout* 1772.

Je ne puis vous exprimer avec quel plaisir j'ai appris hier par une lettre de Mess. Julien et Rosa, du Caire du 4. Juillet, que le jour avant, ils en avoient reçû une d'avis de votre part datée du 9. Dec. 1771 de Gondar; qu'ils se flattoient d'en avoir bientot d'autres plus détaillées; et enfin qu'ils espéroient votre retour par toute la courante année. Cette nouvelle a fort rejoui tous vos amis, qui commençoient d'etre à votre égard dans la plus grand peine. Je fus tout de suite l'annoncer à M. John Abbott, consul ici de la nation Angloise, et je lui ai remis copie qu'il m'a demandé de la lettre de Mess. Julien et Rosa pour l'envoyer à Londres. Vos amis et banquiers de la ditte ville etoient aussi en grande sollicitude sur votre compte.

Cette lettre m'a été portée par mon fils aîné qui vient d'employer un an et plus à un voyage à Constantinople et Smyrne. Il a pris sa route de retour par Alexandrie, et a voulu voir le Caire; je l'attens demain ici, et impatiemment pour le questionner avec plus d'étendue à votre sujet. M. de Montaigu arrive par la même occasion. Chacun est ici dans l'attente de voir un homme si fameux et si singulier.

Je compte que vous m'aurés fait l'amitié de m'ecrire de l'Abyssinie; que vous le ferés encore en arrivant au Caire, et que suivant votre pro-

finish his account of the Pagan customs of the Agows, as it would have confirmed the information given by his master. Balugani died at Gondar, about the middle of February 1771. There is an anachronism in the account of his death, in the Travels, Vol. IV. p. 426, into which Mr Bruce seems to have been led by inattention or forgetfulness.

* This and the following letter are a part of a long correspondence between Mr Bruce and a friend to whom he was much indebted, and whom he greatly esteemed, M. Belleville of Aleppo. They are inserted here as a memorial of friendship.

messe, vous me ferés un jour annoncer dans mon lit que votre pavillon est au second moulin. Je vous repete que je reclame mon droit de possession en vous offrant de nouveau ma maison, et tout ce qui en depend. J'espére que la presence de M. Abbott ne me privera pas de ce droit, et de ce plaisir: autrement vous me donneriés la mortification de penser que vous n'auriés pas été content de moi à votre premiere residence à Alep; et si jamais j'allois en Ecosse j'irois prendre un gîte chez les montagnards plutôt que dans vos terres. C'etoit hier le jour de bonnes nouvelles. En voici un qui vous regarde. Si je suis le premier à vous la donner j'en serai d'autant plus aise. Je reçûs une lettre du Doct. Russel en datte 20. Mai, de Venise. Voici ses termes: "A Roma e Napoli gl'amici del Signior Bruce mi domandavano di sue novità. Qualch' amici ancora del giovane Pittore che l'accompagnava erano molto desiderosi d'aver novita. Un Signore in Roma, che conosce le circonstanze de M. Bruce, m'assicurava che le rendite delli suoi terreni sonno cresciute doppo sua partenzâ, 1000l. Sterling per anno." Voilà quelque compensation pour les depenses de vos voyages. Mes lettres precedentes addressées au Caire (Je crois chez M. Napallon) vous ont instruit de ce que Mr Abbott m'avoit reporté, d'une somme de 4 à 5000l. Sterling, existente à son depart de Londres chez Mr Drummond et Comp.—*Crescant et multiplicentur.*

J'e n'ai point encore de lettres de M. Napollon. Peut être mon fils m'en donnera-t-il demain, ayant eté accueilli au Caire chez cet ami. Il m'avoit ecrit qu'il se chargeroit volontiers des debours qui pourroient vous être necessaires, ainsi que vous me l'aviés demandé. En même tems il m'avoit ecrit qu'on avoit retrouvé votre carte du Nil, et une caisse de coquillages qu'un Turc, Capitaine de vaisseau de Suez, avoit reçû de vous, et consigné de votre ordre a Mess. Julien et Rosa pour attendre votre retour. J'en ai été fort aise pour nos interests reciproques, mais je n'ai plus rien sçu des trois caisses que vous m'avies marqué avoir expediées avant d'entrer en Abyssinie, et qu'on m'avoit ecrit avoir été detournées par certains religieux Franciscains. Vous verrés cette affaire à votre retour, en cas qu'on n'ait pas erré en confondant ces 3. caisses avec cette remise au Capitaine Turc.

Je vous ai mandé que vous trouveriés chez Mess. Julien et Rosa les instrumens de la derniere commission que vous m'aviés donnée, qui leur ont été addressé par Mess. Belli et Fonnereau de Livorne, d'ordre de Mess. John et Nathanaêl Frée de Londres, qui en furent chargés par mon bon ami Mr James Fremeaux. J'espére qu'ils seront en bon etat, et de votre approbation.

Voici ce qui concerne M. Amoreux et sa famille. * * *

* * * * * * *

Du 8. *Aout.*—Mon fils arrivé aujourdhui, au defaut des lettres de M. Napollon qui n'a pû m'ecrire, incommodé d'un grand mal aux yeux, m'a confirmé ce que m'ecrivent Mess. Julien et Rosa sur votre compte, mais qu'on attendoit une caravane par laquelle on se flattoit de recevoir de vos lettres. J'éspere que vous auriés bien voulu m'ecrire, ainsi en vous rapellant tout la part que je prens à votre santé, et à vos succes. Vous scavés avec quelle étendue d'attachement J'ai l'honneur d'etre, Monsieur, votre humble et tres obéïssant serviteur,

BELLEVILLE.

No. XXXI.

M. Belleville to Mr Bruce, at Cairo.

MONSIEUR ET CHER AMI, ALEP, *le 25 Avril* 1773.

Je viens de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avés fait l'honneur de m'ecrire du Caire le 28 de Fev. J' attendois de vos nouvelles avec d'autant plus de desir que mon ami du Rocher m'avoit mandé que vous aviés été long-tems sans mes lettres. J'etois, et vos autres amis d'Alep, dans des peines bien plus vives sur votre compte, après plus de quatre ans d'absence dans un pays d'où l'on ne revient presque pas plus que de l'autre monde. Vous ne pouvés concevoir le plaisir que nous eumes de votre retour, et combien nous sommes fâchés de ne point vous revoir ici. J'en fais ce-

pendant la sacrifice en prenant part à la confidence que vous avés eu la bonté de me faire, et au bonheur qui vous attend. C'est ce que je traiterai plus bas.

Vous n'avés reçû qu'une de mes lettres en Abyssinie, et trois au Caire : je ne suis pas surpris de n'avoir pas été plus heureux que vous, qui m'en avés ecrit un bien plus grand nombre ; mais surement d'autres miennes sont perdues, puisque vous ne me repondés rien sur plusieurs objets que je vous ai participés. Je regrette trés fort le journal que vous m'aviés addressé, et dont je n'ai eu aucune nouvelle. Tout cela n'est rien si, comme je n'en doute pas, vous avés conservé votre carte du Nil, vos remarques originales, enfin l'essentiel de votre travail. Car après tant de peines et de perils, il seroit cruel d'avoir à retracer tout cela avec le seul secour de votre memoire. Vous savés que je suis vieux ; faites que j'aye le tems, en ce monde, de connoitre la relation circonstanciée que sans doute vous donnerés au public de ce voyage extraordinaire, comme j'espére d'aprendre en moins de tems les marques d'honneur et des recompenses que vous ne pouvés manquer de recueiller dans votre patrie. Je serai fort attrapé si vous n'ecrivés qu'en Anglois ; vous m'obligerés de faire la dépense d'une traduction ; car, en un mot, je veux connoitre ce qui va vous faire tant d'honneur.

Vous me confirmés la perte de trois caisses de coquillages, et j'en gémis, parceque c'est en effet une grande perte pour un curieux, à cause aussi des peines que votre amitié vous a fait suporter pour cette recherche, et je suis outré de la friponerie de ces malheureux moines. Ne croyés pas qu'elles soient perduës par leur paresse ; vous etes trop indulgent. Sûrement ils les ont interceptées, et en ont fait leur cour à des protecteurs en Italie. Il est douloreux de ne pouvoir point avoir action contre ces barbes. Je vois que vous voulés bien me destiner votre collection, vous contentant d'avoir dessiné les doubles de ces caisses, et que vous avés trainé tout cela de la Mer Rouge en Abyssinie, de là à Messir, par terre, avec bien de peine sans doute, sur tout après la journée de 30 Novembre. Il n'y a que vous qui puissies aprecier les obligations que je vous ai là dessus. Je suis un trop petit personage pour me flatter de rien qui égale votre bonté. Je ne compte pas de faire à Alep l'etalage de toutes les beautés que je vous devrai, je les reserverai pour mon retour à Marseille ; et mon

premier soin sera une inscription "Munificentissimo D. J. Bruce, cujus laboribus ad mare rubrum, Abyssiniam, &c. &c." Je sens très bien quel relief vous allés me donner parmi les curieux. J'observe qu'une grande plante de corail a eté brisée, autre sujet de lamentation; les malheureux habitans de ces pays ne different en rien des bêtes, malgré les preventions de M. de Montaigu, que je suis tres loin d'adopter. Je vois que parmi tous ces coquillages il y a trois espéces à distinguer par des notes. 1° L'huitre noire du Nil. 2° Les moules, dont une decouverte sert de montre. 3° Le Buccin blanc, surmonté de spirales, couleur fauve. Voilà trois sortes de pieces que je crois n'être nullement connues par les naturalistes, et que je noterai conformement au report que vous m'en donnés. Mais pour que mes notes soient claires et exactes, je vous prie de vouloir m'expliquer ce que je n'ai pas bien compris. Vous dites l'huitre tirée du Nil, *ou il sort du païs d'or*, qu'on ne voit pas ailleurs dans cette riviere; je juge de l'expression que le *païs d'or* est une contrée particuliere que ce fleuve parcourt. Pourriés vous me dire plus precisement en quelle part elle est de l'Abyssinie, ou du cours du Nil, que je puisse le decouvrir sur la carte? Les moules sont de terre, c'est à dire, sans doute, *fluviatiles*, qui croissent là où tombent les grandes pluyes tropicales: quelque explication encore là dessus S. V. P. 3° Le Buccin: je ne serois pas surpris s'il etoit marin, qu'il eut des trous ronds, &c. J'en ai vû sur des Buccins et des murex de la mer rouge, soit que cela soit naturel à ces sortes de coquillages, soit fait par les langues de pourpres; mais sur des coquilles terrestres l'empreinte du pourpre me paroit extraordinaire. Peutêtre est ce l'effet de quelque gros vers propre au Nil ou autres rivieres de ce païs là. Excusés si je vous donne la peine de ces eclaircissemens; c'est que je veux être en etat de bien repondre aux curieux que la rareté de ces pieces etonnera. Vous avés eu, de plus, la bonté de renvoyer votre domestique a Suez pour tâcher de remplacer le perdu, comme si ce qui vous etoit resté à me destiner n'etoit pas deja bien riche et bien abondant. Vous faites encore pêcher à Alexandrie, et vous vous voulés bien me prometre qu'*in eternum* vous ferés chercher dans vos mers, et dans les climats eloignés. Il est inutile d'entreprendre de vous remercier; il vaut mieux me laisser accabler de biens, dès qu'il ne m'est pas permis d'aspirer à un retour equivalent. Souffrés encore une priere en coquillages, c'est dans les espéces

qu'on peut trouver dans vos colonies d'Amerique. Ils en a sans doute qui doivent varier des notres, et dans ceux des Indes que vous croirés n'avoir pas remarqué dans ma collection, et parmi votre présent. Mais ce doit être par le tems et l'occasion, sans vous presser nullement à cette recherche.

Aprés tant et de si belles choses, comment ôser produire le peu de medailles que vous allés recevoir. Je vous ai dit, dans ma lettre du 17me courant, les obstacles que des evenemens et la bêtise nonchalente de ces gens çi ont mis à mes recherches. Je puis dire avoir beaucoup perdu in ce que le religieux de Moussol n'a pû y retourner. Ses confreres lui ont fait des embarras; mais s'il parvient à les surmonter, je me flatte que je n'aurai pas perdu pour vous quelques petits services que je lui ai rendus. Ce Moussol * doit être une bonne source, mais il faudroit y avoir quelqu'un de bonne volonté. Voyez à quoi je suis reduit; du cuisinier, que j'avois de votre tems, j'en ai fait un marchand qui roule dans l'Armenie, et je lui ai plus racomandé des medailles que de bien vendre mes effets. J'ai aussi prêté quelque argent dans la même vue à un homme qui depuis trois mois a passé en Commagene, suivant le succès du cuisinier. Je le renverrai encore, et peutêtre vers Erzerum. J'avois dessein, depuis plus d'un an, d'aller à Edesse; les troubles de cette ville ne l'ont pas permis; et generalment toute la Syrie et Mesopotamie est en confusion. Les Paches sont reçûs ou expulsés à la fantaisie des peuples; il n'y a pas jusqu' à la route d'ici à Alexandrette ou il y a trois sortes de guerre, des villageois, des Turkmans et des Curdes; on brûle des villages; on massacre; ce sont des horreurs. Je viens de me procurer un homme à Damas; mais, comme tous les autres, il est impossible de l'instruire. Enfin j'espere que toutes ces mesures ne seront pas vaines, et que dans la suite je pourrai vous envoyer plus en nombre; du moins je n'aurai pas à me reprocher d' y avoir bien travaillé. Vous allés a Marseille; mon fils, ou mes fils vous diront, s'ils ont pû me procurer *Vaillant des Roys des Syrie.* Si cela n'est pas fait, veuillés me le chercher à Lyon, ou a Paris; je vous tiendrai compte de la valeur.

* A town near the site of ancient Nineveh, capital of Assyria.

Je suis au reste tres aise que vous preniés la voye de Marseille, vous y serés bien en quarantaine, et pour peu de tems, et cette ville merite votre attention. Vous y trouverés des Messrs d'Alep, Routier, Taupin, Crozet, Badaraque, Reinaud, Arnoux. Je compte que vous me ferés la grace de voir mon épouse, ma famille, et mes amis, et que s'ils peuvent vous être utiles, vous les employerés en memoire de moi. Mon cadet vous rendra les medailles et mes lettres. Je voudrois fort que vous y trouviés encore l'aîné, bien que j'en doute. Il me feroit grand plaisir de l'interroger beaucoup sur votre compte à son retour.

Si jusqu' à present je ne vous ai parlé que coquilles, ne croyés pas que je ne prenne un veritable interet a la confidence dont vous m'avés jugé digne. Je suis enchanté de la genereuse resolution de la Demoiselle à la quelle vous allés vous unir, et de votre procedé à son égard. Voila une personne qui a un coeur ferme, vrai, qui merite d'être heureuse. Dieu recompense ses sentimens par un bon choix, et sans doute vous jouirés ensemble de toutes les felicités qui vous sont dûës. Plut a Dieu tous les mariages se fissent-ils de même. Je n'ai pû que concevoir la plus haute idée de Mademoiselle. Je vous prie de lui faire agréer mes respects, mes souhaits les plus étendus, et tous les services que vous jugerés à ma portée. Ma veneration pour elle, et mon affection pour vous m'enhardissent à vous demander une grace encore; c'est le portrait de l'un et de l'autre: ils seront placés dans mon cabinet comme la representation de la vertu et du vrai merite. Peu de jours aprés l'avis de votre arrivé au Caire, je profitai d'un olak pour l'anoncer au Doct. Russel. Si j'avois le bonheur que ma lettre eut été la premiere à en instruire Mademoiselle, je la regarderois comme l'inspiration la mieux placée de ma vie; un si beau coeur ne doit pas vivre en peine. Quand à ces portraits, prenés la forme la plus facile, il suffit qu'ils me representent M. et Milady Bruce.

Parmi le cuivre que m'est resté j'ai quelques medailles d'Elia Flaccilla et d'Elia Eudoxia, qui sont citées pour rares, en bronze, dans un livre intitulé *science des medailles* edit. de 1739, et un Dalmatius. Sur la foi de ce livre je vous les aurois envoyées, si je les avois trouvé notées dans votre memoire. Mais n'en disant rien, et ces medailles étant du bas empire, j'ai crû que vous ne vous en soucieriés pas. Si vous en étes

curieux, elles seront dans le premier envoy que j'aurai à vous faire. La Flaccilla est de la grandeur d'une piece de 12 sols; les Eudoxia et Dalmatius sont plus petites. Je souhaite d'avoir bientôt du meilleur à vous preparer, et je l'espere de tant de personnes que j'employe.

* * * * * * * *

Mess. Pons, Germain, et Puech vous fonte mille complimens, et mille souhaits. Je vous fais les miens avec chaleur et sincerité. Je n'ai pas besoin des expressions, et elles ne rendroient jamais tout ce que le coeur desire à votre égard; Conservés vous; souvenés vous de moi comme de celui qui vous a voüé le plus parfaite amitié et un attachement inviolable. J'ai l'honneur d'etre très cordialment, Monsieur et cher ami, votre trés humble et trés obéissant serviteur,

BELLEVILLE.

No. XXXII.

Note G. p. 114.

Letters from M. de Buffon to Mr Bruce.

The Comte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.

Je suis désolé, Monsieur et trés respectable ami, d'avoir apris dès hier par Madame D'aubenton, et aujourd' hui par M. de Montbeillard le fils, que vous êtes incommodé; il ne faut pas que votre grand courage vous fasse mépriser les maux de cette vie au point de brusquer votre voyage. Au nom de Dieu restés, au moins un jour ou deux, dans l'honnête et bonne maison où vous êtes, et où trés certainement on est charmé de vous avoir. Ma santé n'est pas trop bonne aujour d'hui, et de plus j'ai

donné mes chevaux â M. Heben qui vient de partir pour Dijon; sans cela j'irois vous voir dès ce soir; mais si vous prenés le parti de rester, j'irai demain, samedi matin, jouir du bonheur de vous voir, et diner avec nos amis; ne me faites point de réponse je vous supplie. M. de Montbeillard se charge de me faire savoir votre résolution.

On ne peut, mon cher Monsieur, vous être plus sincerement et plus respectueusement devoué que je le suis.

BUFFON.

Je joins ici le dessein d' un animal que j' ai reçû ce matin de la part de Milord Bute; c'est â peu prés la meme bête qu' une * *† qui m'a eté envoyé par le gouverneur du Cap. Je crois que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous montrer ce dernier dessein, et il me semble que vous m' avés dit que l' animal vous etoit inconnu.

2. *The Compte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

MON TRES CHER MONSIEUR,

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m' avés fait l'honneur de m'écrire de Semur, et je le garde comme un témoignage prêcieux de votre amitié. Je vous supplie d'etre persuadé que vous avés emporté mon estime et mes regrets au plus haut degré. Ces sentiments me seroient doux s'ils n' etoient accompagnés de l' inquietude où je suis de votre santé; cependant je ne vous en demande point de nouvelles, parce que je suis déterminé à partir, lundi, pour Paris, et je compte y arriver sans faute, mardi. Je serois bien heureux si vous y étiés encore le mercredi; car je ne perdrois pas un instant pour jouir encore du bonheur de vous voir. Je suis avec tout attachement et tout respect,

Monsieur,

Votre trés humble et trés obeïssant serviteur,

BUFFON.

Montbard, ce 3. Juin 1774.

† A word illegible here.

A M. M. le Chevalier James Bruce de Kinnaird, à l' hotel d'Entreagues, rue de Tournon, à Paris.

3. *The Compte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

Il suffira, Monsieur et trés respectable ami, que vous vous donniés la peine d' aller chés M. le Duc D'aumont, ruë de Bonne, près le pont Royal, et d'y laisser votre nom, si vous ne le trouvés pas, en mettant que vous êtes venu pour le remercier et prendre congé de lui.

Au reste, mon trés cher Monsieur, nous n' irons pas demain en campagne chés M. Necker, comme je vous l'avois proposé. Je reçois dans ce moment une lettre par laquelle on me marque que ni Madame de Marchai, ni M. d'Aranda ni M. D'angivillers ne peuvent s'y trouver, et dès lors je ne veux pas y aller moi-meme, ni par conséquent vous engager à y venir. Nous sommes donc libre pour demain; Voyés, mon cher Monsieur, si vous voulés que j'aille diner seul avec vous, tête à tête. Un poulet avec deux plats de légumes, comme petits poix et artichaux, cela me suffiroit. Ou si vous aimés mieux venir diner avec moi, je pourrai vous donner la même, quoque je n'aye point de cuisinier. Faites moi le savoir aujourdhui.

Je viens de vous envoyer le Sieur de Séve avec ordre de faire ce que vous lui dirés. On a dû aussi vous porter, ce matin, le pot du prétentendue sauge qui est actuellement en fleur.

Adieu. Je vous embrasse, et vous suis aussi tendrement attaché que respectueusement devoué.

BUFFON.

Au Jardin du Roi ce 13. *Juin* 1774.

4. *The Compte de Buffon to Mr Bruce.*

MON CHER ET RESPECTABLE AMI,

J'ai reçu, Vendredi 15 de ce mois, à Montbard, votre lettre dattée de Londres du 2d, et que vous m' aviés addressée à Paris. J'ai été enchanté

d'apprendre votre heureuse arrivée et la glorieuse reception qu'on vous a faite à la cour. Vous deviés vous y attendre; un Souverain et une reine ausssi dignes que les votres, ne pouvoient manquer de rendre justice à votre merite, à votre courage et à vos immenses travaux. Ils se sont, en vous honorant, fait honneur à eux memes, et en vous louant à haute voix ils ont fait un acte de Péres de la Patrie, qui encouragent leurs enfants par l' exemple d' un grand homme. Je suis très convaincu, mon cher ami, que si vous vouliez en éffet profiter des circonstances pour vous pousser dans es grandes affaires, vous arriveriés bientôt aux places qui demandent en même tems une haute naissance et un grand mérite; mais je trouve que vous pensés mieux en vous bornant à la vie privée, à laquelle on est toujours trop heureux de revenir, même après avoir joué les plus grands rôles de ce monde. Vous avés déja bien assés fait pour votre gloire, et pour l'utilité du genre humain : jouissés en paix du surplus de votre belle carriére en vous occupant paisiblement de la redaction de votre ouvrage. Vous trouverés à Londres des artistes capable d'en executer les gravures. Le jeune dessinateur dont vous avés vû avec moi les ouvrages chés M. le Duc D'Aumont, dessine actuellement une de vos plantes d' Abissinie qui a fleuri au jardin du Roi, et je crois que vous en serés plus content que de M. de Seve qui est fort en colere contre moi de ce que je ne lui ai pasdonné la préférence pour faire vos dessins. Lorsqu'il y en aura cinq ou six d' achevés, je donnerai ordre qu'on vous les envoye.

L' article de votre lettre qui m'a fait le plus de plaisir est celui où vous me marqués que l'affaire d' Alger est terminée; j' aurois été désolé de vous voir partir pour une enterprise où vous pouviés tout perdre, et n'aviés pour ainsi dire rien à gagner même du côte de l'honneur, puisque vous en êtes comblé par ce que vous avés déja fait.

Rien n'est aussi plus flatteur pour moi que ce que vous avés la bonté de me marquer de la part de vos augustes Souverains, et de l'estime de votre trés respéctable nation; c'est de toutes celles de l' univers celle que je révére le plus, et si j'etois plus jeune j'irois avec plaisir traverser le Canal in deux heures et demie à vous embrasser huit heures aprés.

J'ai retrouvé ici votre amie Madame D' Aubenton en bonne santé; son oncle Gueneau de Monbeillard doit venir aujourd hui diner avec elle et

avec moi, et je les attendrai pour fermer ma lettre, car nous boirons surement à votre santé. Nous avons fait en effet grande memoire de vous, mon cher ami, et nous vous sommes tous attachés. Le troisieme volume in 4° del Historie des Oiseaux va paroitre, et j'ordonnerai à M. Pancouke de vous l'envoyer, mais malheureusement vous n'y trouverés pas les Serins; cet article doit commencer le quatrieme volume qui n' est pas comencé d' imprimer, et qui ne paroitra que dans huit ou neuf mois. N' oubliés pas, mon trés cher Monsieur, de m' envoyer les notes que vous avés eu la bonté de me promettre sur les deux animaux qui vous m'avés permis de faire copier dans vos dessins. Cela me fera grand plaisir, à present, car je travaille au Supplément de l' Historie des animaux quadrupédes. Je finis en vous protestant que je suis avec la plus grande estime, et avec un sincere et respectueux attachement, Mon trés cher Monsieur,

Votre trés humble et trés obéïssant serviteur,

BUFFON.

Montbard ce Juillet, 1774.

[M. le Chevalier Bruce de Kinnaird, chés Messrs Drummond et Comp. Banquiers, Charing-cross, à Londres.]

2. *Translation of the above letter.*

My Dear and respectable Friend,

I received, on Friday the 15th current, at Montbard, your letter from London, dated the 2d, addressed to me at Paris. I am delighted to hear of your safe arrival, and distinguished reception at court. It was what you must have expected; a sovereign and a queen, so worthy as yours are, could not fail to do justice to your merit, your courage, and your immense labours. In honouring you they do honour to themselves, and in commending you highly, act like the parents of their country, who encourage their children by the example of a great man. I am convinced, my dear friend, that if you chose to profit by circumstances, in order to advance your political interest, you would soon arrive at

offices which require both high birth and great merit; but, I think, you judge better in resigning yourself to private life, to which even those who have acted the greatest parts in this world are always happy if they can return. You have already done enough for your glory and the service of mankind; employ peacefully the remainder of your bright career, in the arrangement of your work. You will find, in London, artists fit to execute the engravings for it. The young draughtsman, whose works you and I saw at the Duc D'Aumont's, is just now designing one of your Abyssinian plants that has flowered in the king's garden, and I believe you will be better pleased with him than you were with M. de Seve, who is in a great rage against me, because I have not given him the preference to execute your drawings. When five or six of them are finished, I will order them to be sent you.

The part of your letter, which gives me most pleasure, is that in which you inform me that the affair of Algiers is terminated. I should have been in affliction to see you engage in an enterprise in which you might have lost all, and could gain nothing, even in the article of honour, with which your past exploits have already covered you.

Nothing can be more flattering to me than what you have the goodness to intimate to me from your august sovereigns, and with regard to the esteem of your very respectable nation; above all others in the world it is the one I most revere; and, if I were younger, I would, with pleasure, cross the channel in two hours and a half to embrace you eight hours after.

I have found here at my return your friend Madame D'Aubenton. Her uncle, Gueneau de Montbeillard, is to dine with her and me today, and I will not close my letter till they come, for assuredly we shall drink your health. We all hold you much in remembrance, my dear friend, and are all much attached to you. The third volume in 4to of the History of Birds is just ready for publication, and I will order Mr Pancouke to send it you; but, unfortunately, you will not find in it the Finches; that article begins the 4th volume, which is not yet printed, and will not appear for eight or nine months. Forget not then, my dear sir, to send me the notes which you have had the goodness to promise me on the two animals which you have allowed me to

copy from your drawings. That will oblige me much at present, for I am at work on the Supplement to the History of Quadrupeds. I conclude this letter with assuring you, that I am, with the greatest esteem, and with a sincere and respectful attachment, my Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BUFFON.

Montbard, July 20. 1774.

No. XXXIII.

Lettre écrite de Versailles, le 3 *Decembre, par M. le Duc D'Auguillon á S. Em. M. le Cardinal de Bernis; á Rome.*

Le Chevalier Bruce, Anglois, renommé par l'etendue de ses connoissances, et par son zele pour l'accroissement des sciences & des arts, après avoir parcouru l'Abyssinie, a raporté en Europe le fruit de ses découvertes & de ses travaux; Il est actuellement en Italie, d'ou il a fait parvenir en France quelques unes de ses observations, des graines de plantes inconnues parmi nous, & un manuscrit Abyssin trés rare qui a été déposé à la Bibliotheque du Roi. Ce savant se proposant d'aller à Rome m'a fait prier de l'annoncer a Votre Eminence; Je m'y porte d'autant plus volontiers que les temoignages qu'on rend des qualites personellés de M. Bruce le rendent digne de la bienveillance de Votre Eminence & de l'accueil favorable qu' Elle voudra bien lui accorder.

Je prie Votre Eminence d'être bien persuadé des sentiments du parfait & sincere attachement avec lequel je fais profession de l'honnorer plus que personne.

D'Aiguillon.

No. XXXIV.

Letters to and from Mr Bruce at Rome, 1773.

1. *From Mr Bruce to il Marchese Accoramboni.*

SIGNIORE MARCHESE, Piazza di Spagna. Lunedi.

Non il cuore mio, ma le prieghere delli amici miei m'hanno fatto offe rirvi il alternativo per l'Abbate Grant;—non era per simil soddisfazione che ammalato e coperto de ferite io ho passato tratte lunghe di terra e mare per trovarvi.

Uomo innocente occupato nel servizio di mia patria, senza provocazione o aggravio del mia parte nessuna, m'avete tolto il mio onore con violare tutti li dritti avanti Iddio ed uomini, li più sacrosanti, e fatto difficultà di dar in scritto questo che volontieri confessarelo con la lingua. Uomo onorato ed innocente, Marchese, non conosce queste sotilezze, e bene sarebbe per uno da Noi, oggi, che V. S. fosse stato tanto scrupuloso nel commetere l'injuria quanto siete nella riparazione.

Io son il vostro eguale, Marchese, si più più, ed il torto che mi fatto fra di Noi non resta aora che Iddio à fare la giustizia. Pieno d'innocenza e con conscienza netta io rimetto a Lui la mia vindetta, e tiro la mia spada contro da Voi oggi con quella confidenza che inspirano le riflessione d'aver fatto il mio dovere, ed il senso delle ingiustizie e violenza sofferte senza ragione di lei.

A none ore e mezza di Francia io vengo con la mia carossa alla porta vostra; si mia carossa non vi piàce, sia lesta la sua---Andaremo insieme vedere qual delli due è il piu facile, à fare un affronto a uno absente, o sostenarlo in sua presenza.

Ho il onore d'essere
Il suo umil. servitore,

JAMES BRUCE.

A Sua Eccelenza, il Signore Marchese
d' Accoramboni. A Casa sua.

2. *Sign. Accoramboni to Mr Bruce.*

SIG. CAVALIERE,

Quando fù trattato il matrimonio con Mad. M. in oggi mia moglie, non fù mai parlato che vi fosse preventiva promessa con V. S. altrimenti non si sarebbe concluso un tale affare.

Rigguardo poi alla persona di V. S.; sul mio onore non ne ho in alcuna maniera parlato, non essendo à me cognita la sua persona. Onde, se posso, servirla mi commandi, e con il più profondo rispetto mi rassegno

Di V. S.

Umillimo ed obligatissimo servitore,

Casa, November 30. 1773.

FILIPPO ACCORAMBONI.

Al Sig. Cavaliere Janne Bruce.

Translation of the above Letters.*

1. *Mr Bruce to Sig. Accoramboni.*

SIR,

Not my heart, but the entreaties of my friends, made me offer you the alternative by the Abbé Grant. It was not for such satisfaction, that sick, and covered with wounds, I have traversed so much land and sea to find you.

* These letters passed between Mr Bruce and the Marquis d'Accoramboni, an Italian nobleman, who had married a Scotch lady, whom the former considered as engaged to himself, by a promise of marriage given before he went to Algiers. The Marquis protested that he was ignorant of any such engagement, but refused to say so in writing The difference was settled by his consenting to write the above letter. Mr Bruce's friends, who perceived the inutility of challenging Accoramboni, were much afraid that he would employ assassins or poison to get rid of his enemy.

An innocent man, employed in the service of my country---without provocation or injury from me, you have deprived me of my honour, by violating all the most sacred rights before God and man; and you now refuse to commit to writing what you willingly confess in words. A man of honour and innocence, Marquis, knows no such shifts as these; and it will be well for one of us to-day, if you had been as scrupulous in doing an injury as you are in repairing it.

I am your equal, Marquis, in every respect; and God alone can do me justice for the injury which you have done me. Full of innocence, and with a clear conscience, I commit my revenge to him, and draw my sword against you with confidence, inspired by the reflection of having done my duty, and by a sense of the injustice and violence which I have suffered from you without any reason.

At half past nine (French reckoning), I come to your gate in my carriage; if it does not please you, let your own be ready; and let us go together to determine which is the more easy, to injure a man in his absence, or to defend it when he is present.

2. *Sign. Accoramboni to Mr Bruce.*

Sir,

When the marriage with Miss M., at present my wife, was arranged, it was never mentioned to me that there was a promise made to you, otherwise that connection should not have taken place.

With regard to yourself, on my honour, I have never spoken of you in any manner, as you were entirely unknown to me. On which account, if I can serve you, command me. With the profoundest respect, I sign myself, your most obedient humble servant,

House, November 30, 1773.

Filippo Accoramboni.

To James Bruce, Esq.

No. XXXV.

Letters of M. Journu de Montagny to Mr Bruce.

Marseille, le 16 *Mai,* 1774.

MONSIEUR.

Sur le peu de bien que j'ai dit de vous à mon frere, il desire si fort de vous connoitre que je lui remets la presente Son âme et la mienne sont comme celles de David et de Jonathas; vous ne pouvez aimer l'un sans aimer l'autre; et l'un ne peut desirer de vous être utile sans que l'autre ne partage les mêmes sentimens.

Un telescope que j'ai dans mon cabinet n'excite pas plus ma reconnoissance qu'il ne ranime le desir ardent que j'ai d'avoir vos ouvrages; vous me les avez promis; vous vous etes rendu caution de la satisfaction que j'en aurai; ainsi j'y compte comme sur la mort. Buffon a-t-il terminé vos doutes sur la forme que vous deviez donner à votre ouvrage, et sur laquelle vous m'aviez demandé mon avis? Quelle que vous employez, nous serons tous contents parce que tout sera bien vû, bien observé, bien dit, et bien exposé. On se battra pour en avoir; attendez vous y. Je m'attens à une chose bien contraire à vos vues. Loin d'exciter l'emulation, et de former des imitateurs, vous m'avez tout l'air d'étonner et de décourager. Qui ôsera après vous, aller voyager, sans reunir vos talens, votre courage? Et qui ôsera les avoir, ces talens dont quelques uns sont à quelques égards contradictoires entr'eux? Nous verrons cent voyageurs passer le Cap Horn, et parcourir toutes les Isles de la mer Pacifique; nous n'en verrons pas un faire ce que vous avez fait, et comme vous l'avez fait. Haud continget ulli. Je donne au plus fier et au plus adroit d'aller à Sennar, et de pousser de là jusques au Senegal.

Vous me fairiez plaisir en me disant si vous avez été content de Buffon, et quelle impression auront faite sur lui vos desseins, et ce que vous lui aurez communiqué de vos decouvertes, et de votre maniere d' obser-

ver? Il voudroit bien avoir eu des correspondans comme vous depuis trent années. Ne soyez pas honteux avec lui; ôsez lui demander des coquilles, et vous en aurez. Quand j' aurai ramassé de quoi former un caisson je le remettrai à Birbek.

Il me reste à faire des voeux pour que S. M. Britannique vous envoye à Alger donner une leçon de politesse à les barbares. Vous devez cet exemple à l'Europe, et mieux que qui que ce soit, vous devez leur faire voir que cette multitude de canons étonnés de se trouver confondus péleméle, ne sçauroient vous resister plus que leurs cabanes ne resistérent à D'étrées. N' abandonnez pas vos principes de gouvernement, et vous verrez le citoyen Anglois respecté sur toute côté, et sur les mers, comme le citoyen Romain l'etoit par tout pays.

Nous sommes encore alarmés sur la santé de notre bon Roi. Cet événement aura nui à l' agrément de votre sejour à Paris. J'en suis faché parce que l' accueil qu'on vous y auroit fait, presque au nom de la nation, vous auroit un peu vangé de la conduite de nos vils negocians du Levant. Les scelerats!

Borely et moi, depuis votre depart, ressemblons à une poule qui a perdu ses petits. Nous eprouvons un vuide insuportable; ainsi la nature nous vend cher tous nos plaisirs, et nous invite par là à user avec moderation de ce qu'il y a de plus cher, et de plus pretieux au monde, l'amitié d' un homme excellent. Adieu; ne me parlez pas de la fiévre; parlez moi de vous, de Buffon, et de vos ouvrages. Je suis pour la vie,

Votre ami et serviteur,

JOURNU.

2.

Marseille, June 10. 1774.

Mon cher ami, j'ai votre lettre de Montbard et celle de Semur. Cette fiévre est de trop; laissez en France tous les mauvais principes; un de plus ne nous gâtera guères, et il pouroit transplanté en Ecose, nuire à ma curiosité et à cette de toute l'Europe. Je vous écris à Paris, croyant que vous y passerez quelques jours.

Michael me dit que les 300 livres que M. Guys a en ordre de lui compter, suffiront pour les chameaux, de Tor au Caire; mais qu'ils sont insuffisant pour payer le loyer d'une barque, la nourriture, et les donatives duës aux Arabes qui doivent l' aider. Cela me paroit assés juste. J' en écris à M. de Buffon, et je lui mande que mieux que personne vous sçaurez lui dire à quelle depense poura s'élever cette commission. Parlez lui en.

Cette peau de giraffe ne se trouve pas dans ma salle encore remplie des debris et de la paille. Michael et mon neveu m' assurent qu'elle a éte inserée dans une des dernieres caisses que nous avons conditioneés. Je l' écris a M. de Buffon, à qui j' offre les viperes à corne.

Ceût eté une bonne leçon pour moi que de vous avoir accompagné á Montbard; entre vous deux je n'aurois pas acquis plus d' émulation, mais plus de lumieres et de principes. Ce voyage peut être mis à coté de celui d' Italie pour me donner des regrets ineffaçables. Hatez vous d' aller à Kinnaird pour vous acquitter de ce que vous devez à l'Europe. Rien ne peut dissoudre l'engagement que vous avez pris, et que seul vous pouvez tenir.

Vous êtes bien bon, de parler de moi à M. de Buffon. Que suis je? Ne craignez vous pas de vous faire tort dans son esprit, si je viens a lier connoisance avec lui? les amis comme les nourrices étouffent quelques fois par leurs caresses.

Quand verrons nous ce traité de meteorologie? Dites quand? Buffon a-t-il fixé vos idées sur la forme que vous donnerez a votre voyage et à vos observations? Parlez m'en. Michael m'assure qu'on me fait pas la bière avec le Teff. Je vous ai envoyé la maniere qu'l a vû employer.

Que diable voulez vous faire de ce discours que blâme Guys, et que vous avez, je crois, reconnû vrai? Guys me disoit l' autre jour que j'avois outré mes idees, &c. Je lui repondis que tel se croyoit negociant qui n'etoit qu'homme de lettres. Voici mon original; avec tout autre que vous, je prierois qu'on m'excusât d' avoir, en parlant du voyageur Abissin, fait taire mon coeur.

Les endroits de votre lettre que je lis avec le plus de plaisir sont ceux òu votre coeur me parle. Faites le continuer. J' aime beaucoup cet intime chatoüillement de l'ame; et ce doit être ainsi pour tous ceux, qui,

comme moi, mettent le bonheur dans la tendresse du coeur, dans les lumieres, et dans le pouvoir de rendre les peuples heureux.—Non; ma foi, il n' y a que ces trois manieres d'être dignes de l' homme.

Je vous presse contre mon sein. Adieu.

JOURNU.

3.

MARSEILLE, *le* 29 *Aout*, 1774.

Bon jour, mon bon ami, le premier Medicin, Ministre, et General de sa Majesté Abyssine. M. de Buffon, que vous avez trop favorablement prevenu en ma faveur, me demande si vos caisses doivent etre arrivées à Londres. Il tient à ce morceau du cuir de giraffe. Satisfaites le à ce sujet. Il me permet de depenser dans la mer que Moyse passa à pié sec, cinquante Louis d'or, J'ecris à Magallon; je lui ai fait un mémoire instructif et detaillé pour les plantes, coquilles, petrifactions, oiseaux, &c. et avec la lettre sur les medailles, le tout partira demain pour le rivage du Nil. Dans le tems je vous fairai part des suites.

M. de Buffon m'annonce votre depart pour *Kinnaird*. Ceci sent l'homme qui se dispose à tenir parole. Je cesse de vous inviter à la retraite, et au travail; vos dents ne sont pas dans le coeur, comme sont celles des courtisants, et je compte que Bruce ne dementira jamais l'éspoir et la confiance de son ami de Marseille.

Buffon m'ecrit que Guys a cessé de lui donner de ses nouvelles, et qu'il croit que vous n'avez pas á vous louer de cet auteur. Je lui répons que j'ignore s'il y a lieu à quelque froideur. Sans autre éclaircissement convenez qu'avec des sots la politique est inutile, et qu'elle est dangereuse avec les gens d'esprit. Il vaut cent fois mieux avoir cette independance orgueilleuse qui ramene à la franchise, à la vérité, à la noble simplicité. Ho, mon cher, qu'il y a peu d' hommes! Si par une precieuse sensibilité des fibres nerveuses, je n'etois sans cesse ramené vers l'humanité, il y a vingt momens dans l'année où je fuirois la societé. Personne presque ne sçait être vrai par actiones et par paroles. Voulant être bien avec tous, les grands surtout, et ne voyant jamais que soi, cet

homme finira par n'avoir pour lui que quelque Seigneur plat et sot qu'il aura corrumpu par ses adulations. Je l' étonnai beaucoup l'autre jour en essayant de lui prouver qu'il n'etoit pas Negociant.

J'ai ecrit a Ste. Dominique pour des coquilles et j'ecris encore ce jour. Je ne vous ai pas oublié. On m' ecrit de Bourdeaux qu'on y a tant et tant cedé de coquilles qu'on ne peut m'en envoyer. Etes vous assés genereux pour me demander toutes les miennes? Y a-t-il pour vous et moi deux sortes d'amitié.

Le croissant est humilié. Je voudrois que les Chretiens s'entendissent assés bien entre eux pour ordonner au Grand Seigneur de passer en Asie. Je suis persuadé que cela pouroit s'executer dans ce moment sans brûler une amorce. On rendroit à la raison et à la liberte quelques belles provinces que ces barbares detruisent.

Adieu, mon cher ami. Se vous frappez la medaille de la découverte du Nil, vous n' oublierez pas plus de songer à moi que lors de l'impression de vos ouvrages*.

Je vous couve dans mon coeur,

JOURNU.

4.

BOURDEAUX, *le* 15 *Sopt.* 1775.

Mon bon ami, je viens de recevoir la lettre que vous m'avés écrite, le fillet à la main, le fusil en joue, les yeux sur les livres, an bord du lac de Arwhillery. Je suis en verité émû et jaloux de voir que vous allez mener la plus heureuse vie qu'il soit possible d'imaginer. Que je suis fâché de ne pouvoir m'aller etablir au bord de ce Lac pour m'instruire

* In this letter notice is taken of several particulars which may perhaps require explanation. M. de Buffon had endeavoured to engage Michael, Mr Bruce's Greek servant, to return to Egypt, and to collect marine productions in the Red Sea for the king's cabinet of natural history. The skin of the giraffe, or camelopardalis, which M. de Buffon was so anxious to get, had been brought by Mr Bruce from Atbara. M. Guys of Marseilles, well known as the author of an elegant work on Greece, is the gentleman of whom M. Journu speaks in the course of the letter.

prés de vous, y gouter le plaisir de vous y voir heureux, de l'être moi meme de votre satisfaction, y faire ma cour à Madame, enfin comme vous dites de vous y encourager au travail. La satiété des peines du voyage, et le concours d'amis et d'ennemis que vous avez essuyés relâchent cet aiguillon de l'esprit qui aime a travailler : mais rendu à vous meme dans votre solitude, l'utilité publique, la gloire, le gout des sciences, vous rameneront à l'etude ; et ce moment de lâcheté ne ressemblera pas à celui que produit l'extreme chaleur vers l'equateur.

Votre 7 chap. de Henoc, passe l'intelligence du siecle present. Cette génération d'hommes par les anges du ciel qui caressoient d'agreables filles est une idée qui a été en grande vogue anciennement. Joseph, et quelques perés de l'eglise parlent de les géants comme issus d'anges et des filles. Je n'ai pas foi aux géants anciens ni modernes, mais je soupçonne, avec beaucoup d'auteurs, que le mot Phenicien, Arabe, Chaldéen, Hebreu ou tel autre oriental qu'on a traduit par *gigantes* devoit l'être par brutaux, feroces, mechants ; et que si l'on les a fait descendre du ciel par les anges, cela est une suite de la crainte que ces mechants avoient inspirée aux foibles qu'ils tirannisoient, et qui par ignorance et par laps du tems leur attribuérent une force, puis une origine surnaturelle. Le Prophete antidiluvien que vous donnerez à l'Europe ne faira pas fortune. Je suis fâché que l'eglise ne l'ait pas mis anciennement, dans les 5 precieux Siecles, au nombre des livres sacrés ; vous l'embrasseriez joliment et peûtetre un peu plus que ne fait l'apocalipse. Je serois bien curieux de converser avec l'auteur de ce livre, et ceux qui entre les hommes passoient alors pour les plus éclairés. Que de bêtise, de magie, de sortileges, d'escroqueries de prêtres, &c. je verrois pratiquées dans ces vieux tems ! L'ignorance est la mère de la fraude et de la tirannie, comme la crainte est la mère des dieux, et l'audace celle des Rois.

La tournure de noyer les hommes pour les empecher d'etre mangés est digne de remarque.

J'apprens avec plaisir que le Roi vous a gratifié de quelques livres sterlins qu'il dérobé pour ainsi dire, à * * * * et au ministre. Il dit bien, c'est une dette qu'il paye, et il soldera avec vous par quelque charge en Ecosse qui, sans nuire à vos etudes, servira de temoignage qu'en Angleterre on croit qu'un sçavant remplit une tache utile quand il tra-

vaille. Je vous le répéte, point de place à la cour; craignez la; on y perd sa liberté tout au moins.

J'ai reçû, mon bon ami, depuis 4 jours cet excellent piano forte, en bon etat; mes filles vous en remercient; elles n'ont pas trouvé ici en Languedoc ni en Provence des fleurs artificielles de bon gout; elles les attendent de Genes, sous peu.

Dans la böete je mettrai les 4 medailles d'or que jai reçûes depuis 3 semaines. Je fairai en sorte de vous en donner la notice. Mon neveu ou moi tireront les 63 pataques sur M. Coutts, &c. de Londres.

J'ai pour vous 4 petits caissons de coquilles reçus du Caire; je vous les enverrai à Edinbourg, à Leith ou à Boulogne suivant que l'occasion le voudra; les olives nouvelles n'arriveront qu'en Novembre: Attendons les, pour ne pas perdre l'argent la peine, et le plaisir. Avez vous besoin de quelque autre chose? parlez.

De vos 4 petits caissons de coquilles j'en formerai une ou deux caisses parfaitement conditionées; et le tout arrivera à bon port. Je n'ai pas reçu de nouvelles ulterieures de Micael; il n'etoit pas de retour; et j'ignore encore ce qu'on lui aura compté pour les caisses de M. de Buffon.

Ne craignez rien de nous, durant vos affaires Americanes. Nous avons besoin de repos; c'est l'etat naturel de l'homme, et pour vous et nous c'est devenû un état de necessité.

L'affair d'Algier ressemble à celles de Creci, Azincour, &c. *furia francese.* Je pense comme vous sur ces barbares. Mahomet aura éte regalé d'un beau *te deum.*

Toute l' Europe a les yeux sur votre Amerique aprés les avoir eu sur certaine presentation de votre ville de Londres au Roi. Nous ne pouvons, ni ne voulons demeurer indifferens. Cela s'appelle parler; et fairoit croire que cette ville prend trop d' influence dans les affaires générales.

Mon bon ami j' attens d'apprendre votre marriage. Sans doute que vous allez choisir l'instant de votre maison achevée pour lui donner cette agréable parure. Puissiez vous être long tems heureux; et me le faire sçavoir.

Je vous prie d'écrire votre voyage. Si je puis, j'irai vous voir et présenter à votre esprit le siecle present et la posterité. Bon courage! et

fixez les idées que nous devons avoir des Abyssins, Nubiens, &c. Donnez vous vos observations, et vos experiences et que le tout soit arrangé par cette philosophie humaine, genéralle, perspicace, et profonde. Je me persuade que, si vous voulez, ce que vous mettrez sur papier, aux yeux des lecteurs, paroitra gravé sur le bronze in eternum.

Multum vos amamus

JOURNU MONTAGNY.

A Monsieur, Monsieur James Bruce à *Arwhillery** en Ecose.

Translation of the preceding Letter.

My good friend, I have received the letter which you wrote to me with the bridle in your hand, the gun by your side, and your eye on books, on the shore of the lake Ardwhillery. I am, in fact, jealous to see, that you are going to lead the most happy life imaginable. How sorry I am that I cannot establish myself on the side of that lake, to gain instruction from you, to taste the pleasure of seeing your happiness, to

* This letter was written in answer to one from Mr Bruce, dated at Ardwhillery, his hunting-seat, in the parish of Callender in Monteith. He was then employed in translating the book of Enoch from the Abyssinian, and had sent some chapters of it to his friend. From a passage in a letter written afterwards to Mr Bruce, it would seem that he supposed that M. Journu did not encourage him to proceed in his translation. In reply to Mr Bruce's observations on a passage in the above letter beginning thus: "Le Prophète antidiluvien que vous donnéres," &c. M. Journu writes as follows: "Prenez garde mon ami; si j'ai dit que le pauvre *Henoc* ne faroit pas fortune, je n'ai pas voulu que vous crûssez que sa traduction seroit inutile ou mal recûe. J'ai voulu badiner sur le nombre, l' origine, et la taille des Géants. Il n'est pas question de scavoir si l'on pensoit bien avant le deluge mais comment on pensoit. Continuez achever cette traduction qu'on est en France impatient de lire. Je le veux. Je vous en prie, et je vous le donne que vous me jugez mal si vous pensez que j'ai voulu vous eloigner de ce travail. Tout ce qui est antique me touche' parce que j'aime à me retracer quelques fois la suite et progrés de l'esprit humain. Le besoin a reuni les hommes. La crainte a fait les dieux. La force a fait les rois. Nos descendans verront ceque feront les lumieres. Heureux qui pouroit practiser avec la Mort pour venir passer sur terre la premiere année de chaque Siecle durant la suite des siecles, pour faire des compariasons. Ce seront là ma folie."

feel it myself, because you do, and to pay my court to your lady; in short, to encourage you, as you express it, to labour. The satiety that follows the sufferings which you have undergone in your travels, and the shock which you have sustained from the concourse of friends and enemies, blunts the stimulus to exertion in the mind, but having recovered yourself in your solitude, public benefit, fame, and love of science, will recall you to study; and this moment of indolence will resemble, in no respect, that produced by the extreme heats near the equator.

Your seventh chapter of Enoch surpasses the understanding of the present age. That generation of men, sprung from the angels who caressed pretty girls, has been a favourite idea in ancient times. Josephus, and some fathers of the church, speak of the giants as the issue of the angels and the girls. I have no great faith in giants, either ancient or modern; but I suspect, along with many authors, that the Phenician, Arabic, Chaldean, Hebrew, or whatever other oriental word it be, which they have translated *giants*, should be rendered brutes, bullies, or rascals, and that, if they were thought to be descended from the angels, it was only in consequence of the fear which these knaves had excited in the weak people over whom they tyrannized, who, in the course of time, through ignorance, ascribed to them a supernatural strength and origin. The antideluvian prophet, whom you are about to introduce into Europe, will not succeed. I am sorry that the church, during the five first precious ages, did not put him among the sacred books. You would then have embraced him heartily, perhaps even more so than the apocalypse. I should be very much delighted to converse with the author of that book, or with any of them who, in those times, were reckoned the best informed. How much nonsense, magic, divination, and priestcraft, should I discover in those ages! Ignorance is the mother of fraud and tyranny, as fear is the mother of gods, and audacity, of kings*.

The humour of drowning mankind, in order to preserve them from being eaten, deserves particular notice.

* It is to be regretted, that M. Journu, and many other men of abilities in France, had adopted these wild maxims without proper examination, and without attending to the consequences which they were likely to produce in practice.

I learn with pleasure, that the king has gratified you with a few pounds sterling, which, if the expression may be allowed, he has stolen from *** the minister. He says right, it is a debt which he is paying; he will balance the account with some employment in Scotland, which, without interrupting your studies, will prove, that in England, a man of science, who travels, is considered as performing a task of utility. I repeat it to you, accept of no place at court. It is loss of liberty, if it is nothing more.

I received, my good friend, four days since, the excellent piano forte, in good condition. My daughters thank you for it: they have not got here, in Languedoc, nor in Provence, any artificial flowers in a good taste, but they expect some in a short time from Genoa.

I will put the four gold medals I received three weeks ago, into the box, and will give you notice about it. My nephew or I will draw on Coutts, &c. of London, for the 63 pataquas, when convenient.

I have four small boxes of shells for you, that came from Cairo. I will send you them to Edinburgh, by Leith, or to Boulogne, as opportunity offers. The new olives do not arrive before November. Let us wait for them, in order that we may not lose our money, trouble, and pleasure. Have you need of any other thing; mention it.

From the four small boxes of shells I will make up one or two larger, well sorted, and send you the whole. I have heard no more news of Michael. He was not returned, and I know not as yet what has been paid him for M. de Buffon's boxes of shells.

Be nothing afraid of us in your American affairs. We have need of rest. It is the natural state of man, and with you and us it is become a state of necessity.

The affair of Algiers resembles that of Cressy, Agincourt, &c. French fury. I think as you do of these barbarians. Mahomet must have been regaled with a fine *te deum*.

All Europe has its eyes upon your America, after having had them fixed on a certain address of your city of London to the king. We neither can nor will remain indifferent. That is speaking plain, and would insinuate, that the city already mentioned assumes too great an influence in general affairs.

My good friend, I expect to hear of your marriage. Undoubtedly you will give your house, as soon as it is finished, that lovely ornament. May you be long happy, and let me know it.

I beseech you to write an account of your travels. If I can, I will go to see you, and present to your mind the present age and the future. Take courage, and fix the ideas we are to have of the Abyssinians, Nubians, &c. Give us what you have observed, and experienced, completely arranged, by a humane, perspicuous, and profound philosophy. I am persuaded, that, if you please, what you shall commit to paper will appear to the reader engraved on bronze for everlasting.

Multum vos amamus,

JOURNU MONTAGNY.

BOURDEAUX, *le 5 Mars*, 1776.

Depuis bien des jours a dû partir pour Bologne un caisson contenant quelques olives et 30 roziers jeaunes. Le tems affreux qu'il a fait dans nos mers depuis un mois, me fait craindre mon cher ami, que ces bagatelles n'ayent pas égalé par leur diligence l'impatience que j'ai qu'elles vous parviennent asséstôt pour en faire usage. Vous m'en direz un mot dans le tems, à fin que les roziers au moins soyent remplacés, si ceux ci avoient souffert.

Je voudrois apprendre aussi si les fleurs artificielles, &c. sont parvenuës à Londres, et si l'on en a été content. Ce qui ce fait tant attendre ne réussit pas toujours.

Votre silence me deplaît, je vous le dis sans ménagement. Le bâtisse, l'etude et l'hymen occupent-ils réelement tout votre tems? N'y a t-il pas un moment pour l'amitié, et penseriez vous qu'on puisse vous oublier quand on vous a connu? Vous auriez bien des torts avec moi si ces deux premiers points etoient la cause de ce long silence. Si c'etoit le troisieme, je vous pardonnerois presque, parceque j'aime que tout ce qui a du raport à la tendresse, absorbe le coeur de l'homme. C'est le sentiment par excellence, parce qu'il est dans la nature, et qu'il remplit seul notre coeur. A cet égard je vous donne donc vos franches coulées.

Depuis le petit fragment d'Henoc que vous eûtes la complaîsance de m'envoyer, je n'ai pas eu de vos nouvelles ; et j'attens d'apprendre par les papiers publics de chaque courier que cette traduction ait vû le jour. J'aime les géans moi ; C'est ma folie ; et quoique notre gout fait usage de tout ce qui peut le flater, ne croyez pas cependant que votre taille ait contribué en rien dans l' amitié que je vous porte. Il me faut des géans de la haute taille, et je ne veux rien rabattre de cinquante coudées. Redressez Henoc dans votre traduction pour peu qu'il manque quelque chose à cette mesure. Depuis qu'on a fait disparoitre ceux des Patagons nous n'avons que vous pour nous dedomager de cette perte.

Je ne vous parle pas de l'histoire de votre voyage, et de vos observations. Vous êtes plus interessé que moi à ce travail ; vous en aurez seul l'honneur ; mais pour le plaisir, non ; j'en aurai ma bonne portion.

On m'assuroit l'autre jour que votre navigateur Coock alloit tenter le passage du N. O. à rebours, c'est a dire par la mer du sud ; et qu'il n'ameneroit ni botaniste ni phisicien. Je suis surpris qu'aucun de tant de sçavans Anglois ne l'acompagne. Je ne le suis pas moins de la route. Il aura une peine infinie pour arriver au 56 degré de la latitude nord ; son equipage et son vaisseau seront bien fatiguês pour des mers que. Beering a reconnues pour presque impracticables, pour des mers et des côtés inconnuës. Il me semble qu'il faut le munir necessairement de la permission d'hiverner à la Californie, ou au moins à Acapulco. A cet égard cependant tous les amateurs peuvent se fier à votre gout pour les grandes choses, et à votre adresse pour les faire réussir ; je m'y resigne et fais des voeux pour le succès.

Adieu mon cher ami. Je compte pour fort precieuses les occasions de vous être utile, et pour fort agreables celles d'avoir de vos nouvelles. Voyez si vous voulez me faire du plaisir. Cela vous est si facile, tenez tout comme à moi de vous aimer.

JOURNU.

No. XXXVI.

Letter to Mr Bruce from Dr Woide.

SIR,

La Croz's Egyptian Dictionary was published at the beginning of the year. The Egyptian Grammar lies ready for the press; and I have made large supplements to the dictionary, and also prepared a dictionary of the dialect of Upper Egypt. My desire is to make this book as complete as possible. To this end I have wrote to Madrid, but find they have not a single Egyptian MS. in all Spain. From Egypt, I am informed, that the Coptic patriarch will get some monk to copy the MSS. we want. And Father Georgi, at Rome, writes me, that there are some MSS. there, not to be met with in either England or France.

I am at present about a dissertation on the Egyptian language and character. May I be permitted to hint, in the course of it, that amongst the resources I hope for is an Egyptian MS. in your possession, purchased by you at Thebes?

The late Dr Askew was so kind as to lend me, with permission to copy, his Sahidic MS. The account I gave of it in the Journal des Sçavans, 1774, and some other journals, will, I hope, enhance its value, and do no discredit to his kind indulgence towards me.

If you bring your MS. to town, may I hope, Sir, for a similar favour from you? Should it be in Dr Hunter's museum, your permission obtained, I could have his leave to go there and take a copy of it. In case you bring it not with you, will you oblige me with a copy of only a few lines of it; since thus, I could immediately tell whether it be any part of the Bible? I would not fail to make grateful public mention of your kindness, and the public would owe you the obligation of having contributed to the perfecting of the Egyptian dictionary, which is not likely to be very soon reprinted. Some friends have inquired of me,

whether they might expect soon to see the book of Enoch? I told them, they might hope for a publication of it, through your kind means.

I should be happy in an opportunity of evincing with what real respect, I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

CHARLES G. WOIDE*.

Lissons Street, Paddington, Oct. 24, 1775.

No. XXXVII.

Letter from Mr Bruce to Dr Burney, on Egyptian and Abyssinian Music †.

DEAR SIR, *Kinnaird, October* 20. 1774.

I have employed the first leisure that bad weather has enabled me to steal from the curiosity and kindness of my friends, to make you two distinct drawings of the musical instruments you desired of me. I sit down now to give you some particulars relative to them, and to other instruments of less consequence, which I found in my voyage in Abyssinia, to the fountains of the Nile.

* The result of this application is noticed in the Fragmenta Novi Testamenti Sahidici, published after Dr Woide's death. He was profoundly skilled in a very ancient language, little known indeed, but so necessary in the investigation of Egyptian antiquities, that nothing on that subject can be expected from those who want it.

† This letter, the first publication to which Mr Bruce affixed his name, is copied from Dr Burney's *General History of Music*, Vol. I. pp. 205, 214. It was addressed to that ingenious and elegant writer, for whom Mr Bruce had conceived a high esteem, soon after the traveller had arrived in his native country. It contains a minute description of the musical instruments used at present in Abyssinia, and might have resolved, in the most satisfactory manner, the doubts of those, had they been capable of examining the subject, who suspected the truth of his journey into that kingdom.

I need not tell you that I shall think myself overpaid, if this, or any thing else in my power, can be of service to you, or towards the history of a science which I have always cultivated, with more application than genius; and to which I may say, however, that I owe some of the happiest moments of my life. I have kept both the lyre and harp of such a size, as not to exceed the bounds of a quarto page; but I hope you will find all the parts appear distinctly. I did not choose to embarrass the harp with the figure which is playing upon it, because this would necessarily conceal great part of the instrument; your business is with the instrument, not with the figure.

There are six musical instruments known in Abyssinia; the flute, the trumpet, the kettle-drum, the tambourine, the sistrum, and the lyre.

The four first are used in war, and are by much the most common; the fifth is dedicated to the service of the church; and the sixth is peculiarly an attendant on festivity and rejoicings.

There are two principal languages in Abyssinia; the Æthiopic, which is the literary or dead language; and the Amharic, or language of Amhara, spoken by the court.

The flute in the Æthiopic is called *kwetz*, a word difficult to be written or sounded in English; in the Amharic it is called *agădă;* it is about the shape and size of the German flute, but played upon long-ways, with a mouth-piece resembling that of the clarinet; its tone is loud, but accompanied with a kind of jar, like a broken hautbois; not owing to any accidental defect, but to construction and design, as it would not be esteemed without it.

The kettle-drum is called in both languages *nagareet*, because all proclamations are made by the sound of this drum (these are called *năgăr*); if made by governors they have the force of laws in their provinces; but if made by the king they are for all Abyssinia. The kettle-drum is a mark of sovereign power: whenever the king promotes a subject to be governor, or his lieutenant-general in a province, he gives him a kettle-drum and standard as his investiture. The king has forty-five of these drums always beating before him when he marches. They are in shape and size like ours, only they are braced very disadvantageously; for the skin is strained over the outer rim, or lip of the

drum, and brought a third down its outside, which deadens it exceedingly, and deprives it of that clear metallic sound which ours has. Each man has but a single drum, upon the left side of his mule; and beats it with a crooked stick about three feet long. Upon the whole, its sound is not disagreeable, and I have heard it at an incredible distance.

The third instrument is the small drum, called *kăbăro* in Æthiopic and Amharic; though in some parts of Amhara it is also called *hătămo*. It is about half the diameter, and twice the length, of our common drum; it is just the tambourine of Provence, only rounded to a point at the lower end. This is beaten always with the hand, and carried sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, when any inferior officer (not having a *nagareet*) marches.

The trumpet is called *mĕlĕkēta*, or *mĕlĕket;* and *kenet* in Amharic, but *keren* in Æthiopic (or horn); which shows of what materials it was antiently formed. It is now made of a cane that has less than half an inch aperture, and about five feet four inches in length. To this a long stalk is fixed at the end, a round piece of the neck of a gourd, which has just the form of the round end of our trumpet, and is on the outside ornamented with small white shells; it is all covered over with parchment, and is a very neat instrument. This trumpet sounds only one note, E, in a loud, hoarse, and terrible tone *. It is played slow when on a march, or before an enemy appears in sight; but afterwards it is repeated very quick, and with great violence, and has the effect upon the Abyssinian soldiers of transporting them absolutely to fury and madness, and of making them so regardless of life, as to throw themselves into the middle of the enemy, which they do with great gallantry. I have often, in time of peace, tried what effect this charge would have upon them, and found that none who heard it could continue seated, but that all rose up, and continued the whole time in motion.

* The trumpet is often called in Abyssinia, *nesser kano*, which seems to signify "the note of the eagle."

The fifth instrument is the *sistrum*; it is used in the quick measure, or in allegros in singing psalms of thanksgiving. Each priest has a *sistrum*, which he shakes in a very threatening manner at his neighbour, dancing, leaping, and turning round with such an indecent violence, that he resembles rather a priest of Paganism, whence this instrument was derived, than a Christian. I have forgot the name of the sistrum in Æthiopic, but on looking into my notes I shall find it.

The sixth and last instrument is the lyre, which is never played solo, but always in accompanying the voice, with which it plays constantly in unison; nor did I ever hear *music in parts* in any nation, savage or polished, out of Europe: this is the last refinement music received, after it was in possession of complete instruments, and it received it probably in Italy.

The lyre has sometimes five, sometimes six, but most frequently seven strings, made of the thongs of raw sheep or goat-skins, cut extremely fine and twisted; they rot soon, are very subject to break in dry weather, and have scarce any sound in wet. From the idea, however, of this instrument being to accompany and sustain a voice, one would think that it was better mounted formerly. The Abyssinians have a tradition, that the sistrum, lyre, and tambourine were brought from Ægypt into Æthiopia, by Thot, in the very first ages of the world. The flute, kettle-drum, and trumpet, they say, were brought from Palestine, with Menelek, the son of their queen of Saba, by Solomon, who was their first Jewish king.

The lyre in Amharic is called *bēg* (the sheep); in Æthiopic it is called *mĕsĭnkō;* the verb *sinko* signifies to strike strings with the fingers: no *plectrum* is ever used in Abyssinia, so that *mesinko*, being literally interpreted, will signify *the stringed instrument played upon with the fingers.* This would seem as if antiently there was no other stringed instrument in Abyssinia, nor is there any other still.

Indeed the guitar is sometimes seen in the hands of the Mahometans, but they have brought it with them from Arabia, where they go every year for trade or devotion. This instrument having a neck, is, from that circumstance, surely modern. Necks were probably invented after strings of different lengths and sizes had been so multiplied upon the

harp and lyre, that more could not be added without confusion. This improvement of producing several notes upon one string, by shortening it with the momentaneous pressure of the fingers, was then introduced, and left little more to do, besides the invention of the bow, towards bringing stringed instruments to their greatest perfection.

The sides which constitute the frame of the lyre were antiently composed of the horns of an animal of the goat kind, called agăzan, about the size of a small cow, and common in the province of Tigrē. I have seen several of these instruments very elegantly made of such horns, which nature seems to have shaped on purpose. Some of the horns of an African species of this animal, may be seen in M. Buffon's *History of the King of France's Cabinet.* They are bent, and less regular than the Abyssinian; but after fire-arms became common in the province of Tigrē, and the woods were cut down, this animal being more scarce, the lyre has been made of a light red wood: however, it is always cut into a spiral twisted form, in imitation of the ancient materials of which the lyre was composed. The drawing I send you was from one of these instruments made of wood *.

The kingdom of Tigrē, which is the largest and most populous province of Abyssinia, and was during many ages the seat of the court, was the first which received letters, and civil and religious government; it extended once to the Red Sea. Various reasons and revolutions have obliged the inhabitants to resign their sea coast to different barbarous nations, Pagan and Mahometan. While they were in possession of it, they say that the Red Sea furnished them with tortoise shells, of which they made the bellies of their lyres, as the Egyptians did formerly, according to Apollodorus and Lucian; but having now lost that resource, they have adopted, in its place, a particular species of gourd or pumpkin, very hard and thin in the bark, still imitating with the knife, the squares, compartments, and figure of the shell of the tortoise.

The lyre is generally from three feet to three feet six inches high; that is, from a line drawn through the point of the horns, to the lower part of the base of the sounding board. It is exceedingly light and

* Vide Dr Burney's *History of Music*, Vol. I. Plate V. No. 6.

easy of carriage, as an instrument should naturally be in so rugged and mountainous a country.

When we consider the parts which compose this lyre, we cannot deny it the earliest antiquity. Man, in his first state, was a hunter and a fisher, and the oldest instrument was that which partakes most of that state. The lyre, composed of two principal pieces, owes the one to the horns of an animal, the other to the shell of a fish.

It is probable that the lyre continued with the Æthiopians, in this rude state, as long as they confined themselves to their rainy, steep, and rugged mountains; and that afterwards, when many of them descended along the Nile into Egypt, its portability would recommend it in the extreme heats and weariness of their way. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they took up their habitation in caves in the sides of mountains, which are inhabited to this day. Even in these circumstances, an instrument larger than the lyre must have been inconvenient, and liable to accidents in these caverns; but when these people increased in numbers and courage, they ventured down into the plain, and built Thebes. Being now at their ease, and in a fine climate, all nature smiling round them, music and other arts were cultivated and refined, and the imperfect lyre was extended into an instrument of double its compass and volume. The size of the harp could be now no longer an objection; the Nile carried the inhabitants every where easily, and without effort; and we may naturally suppose, in the fine evenings of that country, that the Nile was the favourite scene upon which this instrument was practised; at least, the sphinx and lotus upon its head seem to hint, that it was some way connected with the overflowings of that river.

Behind the ruins of the Egyptian Thebes, and a very little to the N. W. of it, are a great number of mountains hollowed into monstrous caverns; the sepulchres, according to tradition, of the first kings of Thebes. The most considerable of these mountains, thus hollowed, contains a large sarcophagus of granite, of which the lid only is broken. Pococke, I think, (for though I have sometimes looked into him, I never could read him) was in this grotto, and slept here, I suppose; for he takes no notice of one of the few monuments from which we may guess at the former state of arts in Egypt.

In the entrance of the passage which leads, sloping gently down, into the chamber where is the sarcophagus, there are two pannels, one on each side; on that on the right is the figure of the Scarabaeus Thebaicus, supposed to have been the hieroglyphic of immortality; on the left is the crocodile, fixed upon the Apis, with his teeth, and plunging him into the waves: these are both moulded in basso-relievo in the stucco itself. This is a sufficient indication of the grotto, to any one who may wish to examine it again. At the end of the passage, on the left hand, is the picture of a man playing upon the harp, painted in fresco, and quite entire. He is clad in a habit made like a shirt, such as the women still wear in Abyssinia, and the men in Nubia. This seems to be white linen, or muslin, with narrow stripes of red. It reaches down to his ancles; his feet are without sandals, and bare; his neck and arms are also bare; his loose wide sleeves are gathered about his elbows; his head is close shaved; he seems a corpulent man, of about fifty years of age, in colour rather of the darkest for an Egyptian.

To guess by the detail of the figure, the painter should have had about the same degree of merit with a good sign-painter in Europe; yet he has represented the action of the musician in a manner never to be mistaken. His left hand seems employed in the upper part of the instrument among the notes in alto, as if in an arpeggio; while stooping forwards, he seems with his right hand to be beginning with the lowest string, and promising to ascend with the most rapid execution; this action, so obviously rendered by an indifferent artist, shews that it was a common one in his time, or in other words, that great hands were then frequent, and consequently that music was well understood, and diligently followed.

If we allow the performer's stature to be about five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp, in its extreme length, to be something less than six feet and a half. It seems to support itself in equilibrio on its foot or base, and needs only the player's guidance to keep it steady. It has thirteen strings; the length of these, and the force and liberty with which they are treated, show that they are made in a very different manner from those of the lyre.

This instrument is of a much more elegant form than the triangular Grecian harp. It wants the fore-piece of the frame, opposite to the lowest string, which certainly must have improved its tone, but must likewise have rendered the instrument itself weaker, and more liable to accidents, if carriage had not been so convenient in Egypt. The back part is the sounding-board, composed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom; so that, as the length of the string increases, the square of the correspondent space, in the sounding-board, in which the tone is to undulate, always increases in proportion.

Besides that the whole principles upon which the harp is constructed, are rational and ingenious, the ornamental parts are likewise executed in the very best manner; the bottom and sides of the frame seem to be vaneered or inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoise-shell, and mother-of-pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring seas and deserts. It would be even now impossible to finish an instrument with more taste and elegance.

Besides the elegance of its outward form, we must observe likewise, how near it approached to a perfect instrument; for it wanted only two strings of having two complete octaves in compass. Whether these were intentionally omitted or not, we cannot now determine, as we have no idea of the music or taste of that time; but if the harp be painted in the proportions in which it was made, it might be demonstrated that it could scarce bear more than the thirteen strings with which it was furnished. Indeed the cross bar would break with the tension of the four longest, if they were made of the size and consistence, and tuned to the pitch, that ours are at present.

I look on this instrument, then, as the Theban harp before and at the time of Sesostris, who adorned Thebes, and probably caused it to be painted there, as well as the other figures, in the sepulchre of his father, as a monument of the superiority which Egypt had in music at that time, over all the barbarous nations that he had seen or conquered.

Astronomy, and, we may imagine, the other arts, made a rapid progress at this period in Upper Egypt, and continued to do so for fifty years after; between which time and the Persian conquest, some catas-

trophe must have happened that reduced them to their lowest ebb, which historians have mistaken for their first original.

We know, about the time of Sesostris, if, as Sir Isaac Newton supposes, this prince and Sesac were the same, that in Palestine the harp had only ten strings; but as David, while he played upon it, both danced and sung before the ark, it is plain that the instrument, on which he played, could have been but of small volume, we may suppose little exceeding in weight our guitar; though the origin of this harp was probably Egyptian, and from the days of Moses it had been degenerating in size, that it might be more portable in the many peregrinations of the Israelites.

The harp, that approaches the nearest to this in antiquity, is represented on a basso-relievo at Ptolemais in the Cyrenaicum, a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and it is there twice represented.

It has fifteen strings, or two complete octaves; but the adding of these two notes has occasioned likewise the addition of a fore-piece to sustain the cross bar above, so that its form is triangular; the extremity of the case is rounded into a ram's head, which seems to allude to its Theban original; and I should imagine that this instrument is likewise Egyptian, as no harp with such a number of strings has ever been seen, that I know of, in Grecian sculpture.

As the application of pedals has enabled us to disengage the modern harp from its multiplicity of strings, and brought it nearer to Theban simplicity, I hope our artists, and Merlin, in particular, will likewise endeavour to introduce into its form a little of the Theban elegance. It is the favourite of the fair sex, and nothing should be spared to make it beautiful; for, it should be a principal object of mankind to attach them by every means to music, as it is the only amusement that may be enjoyed to excess, and the heart still remain virtuous and uncorrupted.

I shall say nothing of the capabilities of this harp, nor what may be proved from it relative to the state of music, at a time when men were able to make such an instrument. I shall with impatience expect this detail from you, better qualified than any one I know, now in Europe, for this disquisition; it is a curious one, and merits your utmost reflection and attention.

It overturns all the accounts of the earliest state of antient music and instruments in Egypt, and is altogether in its form, ornaments and compass, an incontestible proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music, were at the greatest perfection when this harp was made; and that what we think, in Egypt, was the invention of the arts, was only the beginning of the æra of their restoration,

I am, &c.

JAMES BRUCE.

Observations on some topics in the letter on Egyptian and Abyssinian music.

The reader will observe from this letter that the figure of the harp only was communicated to Dr Burney, on which that gentleman made some interesting remarks, to be found in his work before mentioned. A second harp, copied at the same time with the first, was afterwards found by Mr Bruce among his papers; and the complete drawings of both are given in the Travels.

Mr Browne, who lately travelled into Egypt, and Dar Fûr, and visited the cavern in the Biban al Moluc, where Mr Bruce drew these figures, has insinuated that he seemed to have drawn them from memory. This report has gained credit, and been repeated to the prejudice of Mr Bruce's character, both in Britain and on the Continent*. The facts, that may be brought to vindicate him, are the following.

The penciled sketches of the two harps are still preserved among Mr Bruce's papers, and one of them, at least, is clearly the work of Luigi Balugani. On one of them is a direction to the engraver, in Mr Bruce's hand-writing, giving him a slight liberty to finish the sketch, but not to change the costume of the player. This was written a short time be-

* Vide Larcher, Traduct. d' Herodote, Vol. I. pref. p. xliv.

fore the publication of the Travels; but it is quite evident to any eye, that the difference between the engraving and the sketch is very trifling.

From the known custom of Mr Bruce and his assistant, it is certain that the sketches were taken on the spot. However careless Mr Browne may suppose these gentlemen to have been at other times, it is not likely that they would have sat down, after an excursion through the tombs of ancient Thebes, to draw, *from memory*, the sculptures they had seen in the course of the day. Mr Browne does not pretend that he can draw; we may, therefore, ask him, if he had Mr Bruce's drawings in the cave to compare them with the originals? If he had not, his criticism is that of a man who is not an artist, *making a remark from memory*. Whether Mr Bruce could draw or not, is of little importance in deciding on the truth of these representations; for he had in his company an excellent draughtsman, whose works remain to speak for his pretensions.

M. de Non, who gives us a more perfect view of Egyptian antiquities than any work as yet in existence, confirms what Mr Bruce has said on the subject of Egyptian music. That accomplished artist sketched seven figures playing on instruments, from the walls of the royal sepulchres, west of Thebes, and from the temple of Tentyra. From the tombs of the kings, he gives a groupe of three female performers, the first of whom is playing on a kind of theorbo, the strings of which are fixed and governed by pegs, as in our violins. She strikes them with her fingers, not with a plectrum, or bow; but whether she can change the note by stopping a string with one hand, while she plays with the other, is unknown. The second was represented playing on a wind instrument, which is unfortunately defaced. The third is playing on the harp with both hands; like the rest she is kneeling; and the instrument rises considerably above her. It has many strings, perhaps fifteen or twenty, but it is impossible from the drawing to reckon the true number.—These females are all dressed in close white linen or cotton shirts; their heads are shaven; and their breasts are flaccid and pendant, like those of the modern Egyptian women.

M. de Non gives a very simple, but fantastic, form of the harp, which he copied in the third chamber of the small apartment on the summit of the body of the temple at Tentyra. The arch, or back of it, is in the

form of a serpent; the top of it is surmounted by a human neck, and head shaved; the pedestal is a hare, or some animal of that species, couching, with its long ears bent backwards, under the instrument. It seems to have only four strings; and is possibly the oldest form of the instrument, scarcely separated from the lyre. From its hieroglyphical construction, it was probably consecrated to the gods.

The most important of these sculptures is that of a musician playing on a harp, having, according to M. de Non, twenty-one strings. The sketch which he gives, nearly inclines us, at first, to believe, that it is one of those given by Mr Bruce; yet, on examination, it differs in so many particulars, as to leave no doubt that it is none of them. M. de Non's sketch is evidently hasty, but probably a good resemblance. The player's face is turned to the right; his head is on the reverse side of the instrument, stretched forwards; both hands are extended on the strings, and near one another. His head is shaven and bare; he wears a loose striped robe, descending to his feet. The harp is taller than the performer, in his bending posture; it is finely ornamented, and has on the pedestal a sphinx, or human head, covered with a helmet-like head-dress, surmounted with a towering and peaked apex, commonly seen on the figure of the gods. The neck is like that of a beast; but it is not continued to the shoulders.

Were the compass of the fore-mentioned instruments, as employed by the ancient performers, known, it would throw great light on the history of Egyptian music. In the theorbolike instrument, it is easy to discover the prototype, at least as far as figure is concerned, of the violin class of instruments: But, improved as these figures suggest the music of Egypt to have been, there are many presumptions which militate against the perfection of the arts alluded to by Mr Bruce. Egypt was a country of legal statutes, that arose from ancient prejudice and custom, rather than from reason. Its discoveries were unimproved by taste. Its sculpture and architecture, in short, its arts of every kind, had only one aim; the service of religion; and if they reached the excellence of former times in that single respect, they pursued no further the course of improvement. Egypt reared her temples to contend with time; her tombs to combat with the waste of ages. She raised no Ionic nor Corinthian

pillar to delight the living; her sculptured everduring columns were heaved on high, to imitate the strength and majesty of the gods; her pyramids and granite obelisks were to watch over the sacred memory of the dead, till the hour of some distant revolution in nature. Hence the labour bestowed on every object which regarded the narrow house; and hence the toils that strove only for what was awful, permanent, and immense.

As the aim of all the fine arts in Egypt was not improvement nor pleasure, it is reasonable to infer that they would be very stationary. Their ancient perfection in that country is a very plausible doctrine, not peculiar to Mr Bruce, but unsupported by sufficient evidence. When Egypt was conquered by the Persians, its literature suffered a heavy blow; and its arts gradually declined. Many discoveries may have been made by individuals in the better days of its government, which were forgotten with their authors, and never revived till the æra of European genius. Much may be admitted on account of what we know to have been done.—Still here is no reason to believe, that there ever was a time when any ancient nation could vie with the moderns in those ingenious processes, which are the result of careful induction from a long observation of facts. Art can never proceed far without science; a general rule, which applies strictly in the case of music, the art under consideration. It is probable that the Egyptians had no method of writing musical sounds, except the very imperfect one of marks over the words; and, indeed, it may be fairly questioned, if their writing expressed the words themselves. No melodies could be long preserved in a pure state which descended from memory to memory; and the improvements of genius must have often perished with the individual. If very improved instruments had been common in Egypt, they certainly would have been adopted by the Arabs, the Syrians, or the Greeks, by far the most ingenious of the three. The Jews had what may be called improved instruments, when compared with those of the nations around them. The harp of David had ten strings; it was certainly the most perfect then known; for the owner possessed all the musical knowledge of his age, and owed his first preferment to that accomplishment. But the Jewish knowledge was derived from Egypt; and the accounts given in the

Scriptures of the immense bands of singers and players allotted to the Temple, make a very instructive counter-part to what we know of Egyptian music.

Notwithstanding these considerations, and although we cannot discover perfection in the arts of the ancient Egyptians, we must allow them the high praise of originality. Nor need we blush to search among the ruins of their time-defying edifices, for the early history of every art and science which adorns, or benefits our species. For they had laws and religion, cities and temples, with all the enjoyments of a great and civilized nation, before the writer of the oldest record in existence commenced the history of nature and man, or imparted to him any knowledge from the author of his being.

No. XXXVIII.

Letter from Dr Solander to Mr Bruce.

Dear Sir,

Yesterday I had the pleasure of seeing and examining the Woginoos; the plant now in blossom has only male flowers, and seems to me to be of a new, and hitherto not described genus. In Linnæus' system it is to be ranked in his dioecia tetrandria; the character is as follows:

Calyx tetraphyllus. Foliola oblonga, apice truncata. Petala quatuor, oblonga, apice truncata. Stamina quatuor petalis breviora.

I have this morning ordered a drawing to be made of it for Mr Banks. From the drawing you was so good as to shew me, which had fruit on it, I suppose it was made from a female plant.

I believe Mr Acton has reared another plant, which I wish may bear female or hermaphrodite flowers. I am, with great regard, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

DANIEL SOLANDER.

B. Museum, Thursday morning, May 9, 1776.

No. XXXIX.

Note H. p. 121.

Letters from the Rev. Dr Hugh Blair to Mr Bruce.*

1.

DEAR SIR,

I have at length got hold of your book, and gone through it all. As I was so great an advocate with you for the publication, you may naturally expect to have my opinion of it when published. With the rest of the world, I had great expectations from the work, and I can now say, that I have not been disappointed. Large as your book is, and in all its parts not equally interesting, I can assure you I was sorry when I had done with it. It contains much information, and much curious matter. You have made a great addition to our knowledge of the geography of the world, and revealed a part of the earth that was before unknown.

There has been a sort of prejudice against your Abyssinian Annals; and I believe it is the part of the work the least generally read. I went

* Late professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, well known over Europe for his sermons and elegant critical writings. Mr Bruce had asked his opinion of his work, which he gave in this judicious and friendly letter.

through the whole, however, and was entertained with the history of that strange and savage people. There is much ecclesiastical information in that part of the work. Indeed, without reading that part of it which approaches to our own times, when we come to the reign of King Bacuffa, there is no understanding the subsequent intrigues of court, which occur in the history of your own adventures. I must observe, however, that in these intrigues, there occurs sometimes a confusion and intricacy, through the similarity, and sometimes the sameness, of Abyssinian names for different persons. In your memorable passage through the Nile with the king's army, for instance, before the battle of Limjour, in the third volume, you mention Ayto Aylo, and Tecla Mariam, as lost in the passage, and never more heard of. As I knew these persons to have been great friends of yours, I was very sorry for their death, and wondered that you did not lament more over it. But I found afterwards (if I am not mistaken), that your two friends of that name were still living, and that these must have been some other persons. We hear afterwards of a Tecla Mariam, a young lady of great beauty, who, I suppose, from the name, must have been a daughter of your friend the secretary. In that multitude of strange names, however, great distinctness in repeating them was requisite.

Your adventures in your return from Abyssinia, and the many perils you had to encounter, is a most interesting part of the work. By that time, however, I was become so much acquainted with your Abyssinian princes and chieftains, your Ras Michael, that terrible fellow, and your Messrs Fasil, Gusho, Powussen, &c. that I was sorry to leave the history of their adventures. You make me absolutely in love with your Ozoro Esther. Have you never heard a word of what is become of her, and your other old friends there? I should wish much to know. You drop a hint, that you had heard a report of King Tecla Haimanout's being defeated and slain. Considering the great connexion you had with him, and still more with these two brave men, Ayto Confu and Engedan, I wonder you did not manage some correspondence, by means of Jidda, to hear something of the state of that country after you left it. You see that you interested me in your Abyssinian story.

With regard to your being so much the hero of your own tale, which all the petty critics will be laying hold of, that is what I find not the least fault with. On the contrary, I have been always of opinion, that the personal adventures of a traveller in a strange country, are not only the most entertaining, but among the most instructive parts of the work, and let us more into the manners and circumstances of the country, than any information that general observation can give us. You have gone through more hardships, and have encountered dangers in a greater variety of trying circumstances, I am fully persuaded, than any man now alive. And whatever those, who are unacquainted with you, may think, they who know, as well as I do, the uncommon powers both of body and mind which you possess, will find nothing but what is perfectly natural and credible, in any circumstances which you relate of your conduct.

In the course of your work you have introduced some discussions, which I see will be considered as unnecessary. What you have said in defence of Oriental polygamy is ingenious, and I really think well supported. I am in the same sentiments with you about what you call the paroxysm of modern philanthropy respecting the slave trade; but I do not see that you had much occasion to enter into that controversy. In the long dissertation in the first volume concerning the Cushites, their carriers the Shepherds, the origin of language, &c. you are very learned. But, in a subject of such remote antiquity, the authorities are, to say the truth, very slender and doubtful. However, your discussion is as plausible as any of that sort of conjectural erudition can be.

Before your finally leaving Abyssinia, I expected you to have given us some general views of the country where we had been travelling so long; respecting the size and extent of the empire; the number of its population, so far as you could conjecture; the climate and soil in general; the character of the people; and any miscellaneous observations on manners which had been omitted. Several of these things, I confess, may be picked up in different parts of your narrative, and in the chapters where you give an account of the division of the Abyssinian provinces, &c. But still it would have been of great use to have brought

together, in one view at last, such of these particulars as I have suggested, in one chapter, that the reader might leave the country with a distinct and summary impression of it on his mind. If there be any desideratum in the book, I think it is this; and in a subsequent edition, I should be very glad to have such a chapter added. It is, for instance, a very singular circumstance in Abyssinia, that there is no sort of dancing practised, in which they differ so totally from the nations on the western coast of Africa *. You do mention this, but slightly; it would deserve, I think, to be more fully brought out, and would naturally lead into some discussion concerning the character and temper of the natives, their general manner of living and passing their time, &c. In conversation I remember your telling me, that Abyssinia was a kingdom not so large as France. I do not remember any general view of its extent or population in your book.

With regard to your style, I was so much carried along with the matter, that I gave no critical attention to it. In general, it appears to me easy, natural, and unaffected, which is all that, in a work of such length, is required.

Your description of what passes at an Abyssinian feast, was necessary to be given, as a historian, though it exhibits, I must confess, a very indecent scene, and gives a view of manners carried to a degree of public dissolution, which prevails not in Otaheite, nor in any regular society I ever read of. This, I think, might give room for such discussion on the manners of the people, as I wished to be added to your book. They are certainly, as you often hint, a very sad race. In what manner do the ordinary and common people live?

I am fresh come, as you may see, from reading your book, which I have just now returned to the bookseller who lent it me. Being full of your subject, I have thrown out all that at present occurred to me on it, with that entire freedom, which I know you will take in good part, though there are none of my observations of much consequence. It

* Dancing is practised in Abyssinia in religious rejoicings; and on some other occasions, by persons of all ranks, but it is not so common as among the negroes. The Arabs do not dance generally; it is reckoned indecent, except in buffoons, &c.

would have been a thousand pities if you had gone to your grave without giving so great an acquisition of discovery to the learned world.

I have a great inclination, in place of designing you, on the back of this long letter, "of Kinnaird," to design you "of Geesh, Esq." Your Lordship of the fountains of the Nile, I really think, ought to be perpetuated by this title. I would change the name of Kinnaird into Geesh; and I think you should obtain leave from the heralds' office to have some emblem of the fountains of that celebrated river brought into your coat of arms. Wishing you all health and prosperity, after your long labours, I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

Restalrig, June 17th, 1790. HUGH BLAIR.

2.

DEAR SIR,

I return you, with many thanks, the several letters, with the communication of which you favoured me. I never doubted that your Travels, the more they are known, would the more draw public attention, and possess that place in the public esteem which they justly merit. You have enlarged our knowledge of this habitable earth, and to much entertainment have added much instruction. The only desideratum I ever found in them was, as I mentioned to you formerly, some more general views of the kingdom of Abyssinia, of its extent, population, manners, &c. which I still wish you would have in your view in a future edition.

As to your letters, I am at a loss who this John Anderson is who is so full of Russia. The opinion and testimony alone of the bishop of Carlisle, a man of much knowledge and good sense, is a whole host. I do not get the Monthly Review, and never saw that article in it, which has been so injurious to you. Indeed I seldom see any reviews, unless what is called the Analytical one, which a friend of mine takes, and commonly sends to me; and that review appears abundantly favourable to you. But I entirely agree with Dr Douglas, that the reviews are beneath your notice. They are always guided by the interest of some

booksellers; and it is not on their opinions that the reputation of books and authors will depend. I am so much of this mind, that though I lately published a volume of sermons, I never gave myself the smallest trouble to inquire what the several reviewers said of it, or whether they took any notice of it at all.

I cannot tell you whether Walton's Polyglott Bible be in our library. It is seldom open at this time of the year. I am very happy to hear that your health is better. I hope it will soon become confirmed, and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you in town in winter. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

Restalrig, Sept. 29, 1790. HUGH BLAIR.

No. XL.

Letters from the Honourable Daines Barrington to Mr Bruce.

1.

DEAR SIR, *May* 1, 1788*.

I have, this morning, finished your journey from Masuah to Gondar, and shall continue to observe your injunction of making no observations till you carry me back to Cairo. I shall venture, however, to say, that you have interested me most thoroughly with regard to what relates to that unfrequented country, where I now find myself perfectly at home.

I cannot read these Travels without admiring the proper contempt you shew for your ignorant criticizers, by not taking notice of any of their objections, except by stating the facts which totally refute them.

* The first manuscript copy of Mr Bruce's work was transmitted to Mr Barrington in spring 1788. Some changes were afterwards made in the arrangement, &c. and the greater part, if not the whole of it, transcribed for the press by Mr William Logan, a young man who resided with Mr Bruce, as his amanuensis, from the year 1786 till his death.

Your maps are certainly geographical treasures, and, I hope, will be properly engraved under your directions, at the time, I flatter myself, we shall see you in town; and Elmsley undertakes that the engraver shall be ready to receive your commands. I flatter myself also that you will find our artists much improved since you have been in London, as their works have now such a sale over Europe, that alderman Boydell is supposed to have made L. 100,000 by the exportation of them, and L. 1000 by one landscape only, viz. that engraved by Woolet from a picture of Wilson's, in which the story of Niobe is introduced.

You allude, in your journey from Masuah to Gondar, to the botanical and natural history part of your work, which I would be glad to see, at least know what may be the number of the pages, that we may calculate the number of volumes, which, perhaps, should not exceed three.

I observe, that there are several districts of Abyssinia, which are not comprehended in your reduced and general map. May not, therefore, a map be formed from the great one in my custody, which may relate to that kingdom only, and which may include most of the remarkable places and divisions of the empire, which you have mentioned*.

You have made me so thoroughly acquainted with Abyssinia, that I long much to see a head of Ras Michael, Ozoro Esther, &c. and am not without hopes that you may have some such drawings; as your own head for the frontispiece is not only very masterly, but excessive like. The old priest of the Nile, also, and many other incidents, represented by your pencil, would much embellish the work.

Believe me, Dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

* This was not done; which is the more to be regretted, as Mr Bruce could have fixed, from personal knowledge, the position of many places which are vaguely set down in the maps of the Jesuits. Some curious routes in Habbesh might be extracted, with labour, from the MS. histories of the kings, that often mention a line of royal encampments, the distance between which is known, at a medium. The map is, indeed, defective, not in what Mr Bruce had seen, but in what he might have ascertained from the accounts of others. The editor of the second edition of the Travels has ventured to insert in it a few of the most remarkable omissions of this kind, but has avoided every idea of compilation, as being injurious to the certainty of the whole.

2. TEMPLE, *Jan.* 16. 1792.

I shall always be most happy to convey to you any intelligence, which I think may be interesting, and, at the same time, to inquire after your health and welfare.

Dr Herschel has now settled it that the ring of Saturn is double, and that the interval between the two rings is 2741 miles. And that the fifth satellite revolves round its axis in 79 days, 7 hours, and 47 minutes.

He also finds, that several stars, actually observed, have disappeared *.

A Major Houghton, sent out by the African Society, has approached Tombuto, through an unfrequented country, and is to be conveyed thither at a stipulated price.

Give me leave, by all means, to recommend to you Lempriere's Account of Morocco. He was a Gibraltar surgeon, and was sent for to cure a prince of that country. His situation at the Moorish Haram somewhat resembles yours at Sennaar.

Ever yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

3.

DEAR SIR, *March* 24.

The editor you inquire about is not R— but H—, who lives at the King's Arms, Paternoster-Row.

The first three numbers of this compilation are already printed off in folio. Your travels are thus announced—" Bruce's most celebrated Travels, *complete*, into Abyssinia to discover the Sources of the Nile."

* Mr Bruce was very fond of astronomical knowledge, and had for some time a kind of temporary observatory erected for his amusement on his house at Kinnaird. He had even thoughts of building a small one on an eminence not far distant. His operations in this *sublime* study attracted the notice of some of the more illiterate of the country people aronnd, who, with the wisdom commonly attending on ignorance, exclaimed, " The laird's gaen daft," a phrase which signifies that he had lost his senses. The Abyssinians, with whom, no doubt, they would have blushed to be compared, were more charitable. They believed that he held an intercourse with heaven through " these long glasses directed to the sky."

The general title is Portlock's Collection of Voyages and Travels. If you have difficulty with * * * why not reprint your own Travels under your own direction, and at your own expence?

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

D. B.

Major Houghton, the Niger traveller, is supposed to be dead; and Mr Browne is supposed to have been for some time on his road to Sennaar. I write you word on these occasions what I hear, but do not warrant any intelligence.

4.

DEAR SIR, *May* 29.

I am just now informed, that Mr Browne reached Sennaar from Cairo; but is returned from not being able to procure camels. He means to set out again from the same place for Gondar by some other route. I hear nothing further about the Niger.

I am ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

5.

DEAR SIR, TEMPLE, *July* 9. 1792.

I am truly sorry to hear that you have suffered so much by exploring coal mines, but hope, by this time, you have recovered your health.

I do not hear any thing further about the new discoveries in Africa; and therefore believe, that they will turn out not to be very material. Perhaps as good an account as any is that of your countryman Lithgow, who travelled for nineteen years together, in the very beginning of the last century, entirely by himself, and on foot. He set out from Fez, and travelled a great way to the S. W. with a caravan.

As for Mr S—t—n I cannot expect any thing from him, even if he should reach Gondar, as you state him to have no literature.

I rejoice to find that you think of publishing an octavo edition, and take the liberty of enclosing some lines of Ariosto to be prefixed to it. When incredulity proceeds from ignorance, I cannot allow it any quarter.

The European Museum of last month contains more letters from that worthless fellow Montague; from one of which it is very clear that he first propagated the report that all your drawings are those of Luigi.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

The Bishop desires to be held in your remembrance, as I am confident Dr Heberden does—As I cannot get a frank I transcribe the lines;

Chi va lontan de la sua patria vede
  Cose da quel che già credea lontane:
Che narrandole poi non si gli crede,
  E stimato bugiardo ne rimane;
Che 'l volgo sciocco non gli vuol dar fede
  Si non le vede e tocchi, chiare e piane.

Ariost. cant. 7. *stan.* 1.

6.

July 29.

An old school-fellow of yours, I do not mean myself, having seen the lines from Ariosto, which I sent you in my last, as perhaps proper to be prefixed to the new edition of your excellent Travels, has given me the following translation:

Who travels far will scarcely fail to see
Things far exceeding probability;
Which if he dares relate, the hearer cries,
"O he's a traveller; and, therefore, lies."
The dulness of the vulgar mind is such,
They're not convinced unless they see, or touch.

I have lately seen an officer, who, on the highest part of the island of Ascension, observed your *kantuffa*, and described it so, that I shewed him the engraving, which he immediately recognised.

The Lithgow whose travels I ventured to commend so much in one of my last letters, lived near Stirling, and takes notice of some subterraneous ruins near Falkirk.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

7.

DEAR SIR, BECKET'S, *Aug.* 22.

Having sent your last letter to the Bishop of Salisbury; in answer, he says, that a new edition cannot but be well received by the public. By the way, you will be at liberty to do this by next July, and it may be ready for the press at that time.

As you propose engravings, why should they not be new subjects, as the expence will be the same?

Perhaps it may have escaped you that Le Brun, the painter and traveller, was abused by the envious of his time, as having employed other hands than his own—a charge which he treats with the proper contempt.

I am happy you have seen Dr Herschel, and hope you will return his visit, if it happen to suit your convenience.

Ever most sincerely yours,

D. B.

The Bishop of Salisbury desires to be kindly remembered to you.

I conclude the engravings of the first edition will not fold into an octavo.

8.

DEAR SIR, LONDON, *Nov.* 16. 1792.

I am happy in every opportunity that gives me a pretence for asking how you do. I happened to go into Wilkinson's shop this morning

(who sells maps chiefly), in Cornhill, where I saw a printed proposal for an engraving of you when at the source of the Nile. I am told that you are to be represented in your African dress, drinking the king's health out of a shell, and your likeness to be taken from Heath's engraving in the frontispiece of your travels. I understand that the publication is soon to appear; as also an engraving of your portrait as Lord of Geesh. The engraver is to be Mr James Gillray of Chelsea, who is said to be a good artist.

If I can be of the least use about this, or any other matter, pray let me hear from you as soon as may be.

Believe me most sincerely yours,

D. BARRINGTON.

9.

DEAR SIR, *Nov.* 29. 1792.

But one print of you is to be published, and this is intended to be creditable, and to do you the justice you deserve. I have already seen a proof, but as it will be a print of expence, I will now set out for Wilkinson's to state your offer to him.

On my return. I am to inform you that some proofs being worked off, no alteration can conveniently be made. I conceive the size to be, perhaps, 2 feet by 18 inches. There is landscape, and many figures; yourself the pricipal, drinking the king's health out of a cocoa cup. Except that the face is not like, I don't think you will disapprove of the other circumstances. The price will be a guinea, and you may depend upon it, there is not the least intention of caricature.

I am happy to hear that the 8vo edition is to take place before it is long. As for a bookseller on this occasion, I really know no one whom I could recommend.

Houghton is a man of no literature, at least as I conceive; and formerly belonged to one of the African forts.

Believe me, most sincerely yours,

D. B.

Your dress in the print is picturesque, and of the Asiatic kind.

10.

DEAR SIR, *Dec.* 6. 1793.

Truth will come out, from readers who peruse at a distance from its publication, which admits of no *cabal.* Hear Sir William Jones, in the third volume of the Asiatic researches now just imported, p. 4. "To the ardent and intrepid Mr Bruce," &c. [Sir William's encomium is given at full length, for which see the Vol. referred to.]

See also a dissertation by Lieutenant Wilford on Egypt, and other countries, in the same compilation, where you are referred to almost in every page.

I am not without hopes, therefore, that a new and cheaper edition of your most valuable work, will disseminate this information much more extensively than it can be at its present price. I hope you continue to enjoy good health, and am ever most sincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

No. XLI.

Inscription on Mr Bruce's monument in the church-yard of Larbert in Stirlingshire.

The ancient burying-place of the Kinnaird family was in the church of Airth, where the long lines of de Airth and de Bruis are now joined together in equal oblivion. Both families being successively extinct,

and no person having any interest in their memories, the very names of those *gallant knights* are totally forgotten in the place where they lived. Instead of being laid amongst his ancestors at Airth, Robert Bruce, the founder of the present family, was buried in the church of Larbert, which he had repaired, and in which he sometimes preached after his expulsion from Edinburgh by James VI. It is probable that his descendents were interred in the same place, till the death of David Bruce, father of the author of the Travels in Abyssinia, who was buried at Edinburgh. This circumstance, along with the prevalent disuse of burying within churches, inclined Mr Bruce to erect a monument for himself and his family, in a different place, which he did in the year 1785. Over the vault, or tomb, he raised a beautiful monumental structure of iron, cast at the neighbouring foundery of Carron, adorned with emblematical figures, and Greek inscriptions; perhaps the most ingenious work of the kind that ever was executed. On the north side of that monument is the inscription which follows:

Sacred to the memory
of
MARY DUNDAS,
who died the 10*th day of February,* 1785,
aged 31 *years.*
James Bruce of Kinnaird,
her husband, erected this
monument, a memorial
of his gratitude and affection,
and her virtues.

At her feet lies the body
of ROBERT BRUCE, *their eldest son,*
who died the 10*th Nov.* 1778.

(South side.)

In this tomb are deposited the remains of
JAMES BRUCE *esq. of Kinnaird,*
who died on the 27th of April, 1794,
In the 64th year of his age.
His life was spent in performing
useful and splendid actions;
He explored many distant regions,
He discovered the fountains of the Nile,
He traversed the deserts of Nubia.

He was an affectionate husband,
An indulgent parent,
An ardent lover of his country.
By the unanimous voice of mankind,
His name is inrolled with those,
who were conspicuous
For genius, for valour, and for virtue.

No. XLII.

List of MS. Journals, Common-place Books, and other authentic Writings, from which Mr Bruce composed the account of his Travels.

It is known, beyond any doubt, that Mr Bruce had only one assistant in the course of his travels. Mention has already been made of that person. At present it is necessary to mention, that Signior Luigi kept the

weather journals in Barbary, Egypt, and Habbesh, and assisted his master in making and calculating the astronomical observations, after which he entered them in the books. He designed much of the architecture, and many of the articles of natural history, as is evident from the first sketches, still preserved. The journals relating to Egypt and Abyssinia were kept in the following manner :

Luigi marked the state of the thermometer, winds, weather, &c. at particular times in the day, on separate pieces of paper, and afterwards transcribed them into a large folio book kept for the purpose. The celestial observations were also recorded in this book; but no remarks on the countries. Mr Bruce had provided about a dozen of small books, of the duodecimo size, suited to the pocket, of which he always carried one, and entered in it his own observations as they occurred to him. He began these observations in Egypt; and continued them in successive pocket-books till he left Gondar. Having lost his assistant before that time, he was obliged, after the death of Luigi, to take charge of the weather journal; and he then began to write some of his remarks on blank pages in the large volume.

As soon as they left Cosseir on the Red Sea, Luigi began a separate set of journals in the Italian language, by his master's order, who wished to have their routes exactly measured by the time; number of computed miles; occasional observations; and other circumstances;—reserving for himself the historical part, freed from minute detail, and interspersed with general reflections. These journals of Luigi are written on the cream coloured paper on which the Arabs write their books. The sheets are somewhat larger than common letter-paper; the surface is very smooth, as if hot-pressed; the material, of which it is made, is probably cotton, as its texture resembles that; and the name of *charta bombycina* is commonly given it by describers of Oriental MSS.

The journals written by both are as follows :

I. The large folio volume, containing, 1st, The observations of latitude and longitude, made at different times, from Mr Bruce's leaving Negade and Badjoura, in Egypt, till his return to Gondar from the sources of the Nile, in November 1770. 2d, The weather journals, as in part published in the Travels, beginning about the time Mr Bruce land-

ed at Masuah, (September 1769), and continued, with very little interruption, till Dec. 1771, the month in which he left Gondar. All these are in Italian, written by Luigi, till the 14th day of February 1771, when Mr Bruce's hand appears in them. The rest of the book contains several pages, very closely written, on the history of Yasous Tallack, from Ethiopic MSS.; the continuation of the history of Abyssinia, after the taking of Ras Michael; and a considerable number of memoranda, on the revenues and geography of the provinces, &c. These were written at Koscam, towards the end of Mr Bruce's residence in that place.

II. The journals by Luigi, mentioned above, in one 4to. volume, unbound, containing, 1st, Viaggio de Cosseir à Imbo ed à Gidda. 2d, Viaggio di Gidda à Loheia. 3d, Viaggio di Loheia à Massoua. 4th, Viaggio di Massoua à Gondar. 5th, Viaggio di Gondar à Emfras. 6th, Viaggio alle Fontane del Nilo, fatto nel mese di Ottob. 1770, dal illustrissimo Cavaliere Signior Giacomo Bruce. This last contains a complete detail of the hours and days in which they travelled; of the villages, rivers, mountains, and, in short, every remarkable object they met with, from their leaving Gondar, Sunday, 28th October 1770, at 9½ A. M. till their return, Sunday, 18th November, one o'clock, P. M. in the same year*. The journals from Cosseir, &c. to Gondar, are equally minute with the journal to the Sources. They are all in Italian, very closely written on a number of sheets of the smooth cream-coloured paper used in the East.

III. As a supplement to these, must be mentioned, the pocket, or common-place books, in which Mr Bruce kept a separate historical account of the journies, and inserted his own observations.

No. 1. Contains the narrative of his journey up the Nile, and across the Thebaid to Cosseir, from the time the Canja set sail, (Tuesday, 13th December 1768), till he embarked on board a ship, on the Red Sea, bound for Tor, (April 5, 1769). This comprehends all the observations he thought proper to commit to writing on the antiquities of

* On the third page of this journal are the words, Viaggo alle fontane del Nilo, in lingua Abessica si chiamano Rass l' Abaj.—(Head of the Abay.)

Egypt, which are extended in the printed work. The latter part of this pocket-book contains a great number of remarks on the Arabs; the history of the Sheriffe; polygamy; and the number of children, male or female, which he had found in the families of the Arabs, at Jidda, &c.

The descriptions of several fishes in the Red Sea, are also interspersed.

No. 2. Is very miscellaneous. It was begun in Barbary; has some notes on Ras Sim, Ougela, the Leffah, or Cerastes; a list of the drawings of architecture he made in Barbary; some extracts from Lucas's voyages; a description of the papyrus, Sidon, July 29, 1767; of the musa or banana tree, July 23, 1767. Many astronomical and mathematical precepts and formulæ; Boyle's heads of natural history, &c. Then, in the latter part, a long account of Messaad, Sheriffe of Mecca, and of his predecessors; of the Imam's territories, Mocha, Zibid; the Basha of Jidda; complexion and appearance of the Arabs in the south, &c.

No. 3. The voyage from Loheia to Massoua, including a description of Foosht and Dahalac. Then a great many particular observations made at Massoua, from September 19 to October 10, 1769. Next the journal of the way from Massoua to Gondar, by Arkeeko, Taranta, Dixan, Adowa, Fremona, Axum, Sire, Addergey, Mai-Lumi, and thence over Lamalmon to Gondar. All the rest of this book consists of numerous notes on the manners, dress, history, religion, geography, &c. of Abyssinia, many of which the author incorporated with the printed narrative of the travels; and those which he did not, will be found in the additional information, with the proper references.

No. 4. The journal of his route to the fountains of the Abay, and thence back to Gondar. It was kept to check that of Balugani, mentioned above.

No. 5. Is a quarto volume, containing about forty-five leaves, in red Turkey leather, which comprehends the most interesting part of Mr Bruce's observations and transactions in Abyssinia. The first writing which apparently has been made in this book, is the journal of the weather at Axum in Tigre, January 18, 1769. It contains, however, a great variety of articles not arranged in any kind of order; such as the first interview with the king and Ras Michael, March 2, 1770, with a diary of the public events that took place at Gondar, till Mr

Bruce left it for Emfras, April 4. The rumours about Boro Dagogo, and the Agows, Fasil, and the situation of Maitsha, with the successive cruelties of the Ras, occupy a considerable part of it. A sketch of the unfortunate journey from Emfras to Dara, in May, is also given. Then the successive events in the metropolis after the battle of Limjour; the retreat of Michael and the Tigre; the arrival of Gusho and Wundy Powussen; the election of the pretender Socinios; his conduct during the time of his short reign; and the trial of the murderers of Joas, follow. Next, the return of Michael and Teclahaimanout; the fall of Socinios; flight of the Iteghe; battles of Serbraxos; blockade of Gondar; and final surrender of the Ras and his army *. The remainder of the Abyssinian history, till Mr Bruce left the country, is found in the large folio volume of journals, inserted at Koscam in the end of July 1771.

Besides these particular topics, this book contains a variety of important remarks on ecclesiastical history, the Abuna, Acab saat, and dignitaries of the church. Many observations on the geography of the Galla country; the tribute of the provinces; and other subjects, are scattered among the larger narratives.

IV. Mr Bruce left Koscam, the residence of the Iteghe, December 26, 1771, in a declining state of health, which was very much increased by the dangerous situation of the country, the rainy season, and the prospect of a long journey beset with every danger. It is evident, from many circumstances, that he had no very sanguine hopes of ever arriving in Britain. His journals are at this time written in a careless and feeble hand; the entries are made with little order; and the ink so indifferent that it has faded greatly.

As he had now packed up all his books, and could not have access to them readily on the journey, he took a number of sheets of the large folio paper he had used for drawing, cut them longitudinally into three stripes in the half sheet, and then sewing these together at one end, wrote on them his journals and observations. He kept his ink fixed to

* From the journal it appears, that Mr Bruce has admitted a slight anachronism into his account of the dates of these battles, which were fought a little earlier than the time stated in the printed work.

his girdle; and, like Cæsar on a different element, carried his commentaries in his breast or hand.

These stripes contain the weather journals, and state of the thermometer for every day in the week, from his leaving Koscam till his arrival at Cairo. They are interspersed with a number of reports collected at Horcacamoot, Teawa, Beyla, and Sennaar, relative to the Arabs of Atbara, Suakem, and the Habab; the river Abiad; Darfour; the Shillook; Nuba; Shangalla, &c. from black merchants, and such of the natives as had access to know these matters. The bearings and distances of places are very carefully given, either from report or personal observation. As Mr Bruce resided many months at Sennaar, it might be naturally expected, that he would write much on that country. He accordingly has accumulated many observations on the manners, government, and religion of the Funge. While he resided at Sennaar, we find him occasionally employed in inquiring into the ancient history of Abyssinia; and it was in that city he first committed to writing his theory of the early civilization of the Cushites, and origin of the Indian trade. His account of his perilous route through the desert to Syene, and thence down the Nile to Cairo, concludes the journals *.

* Several attempts have been made by travellers to enter Habbesh by way of Masuah and Sennaar, since the year 1772, which have all proved unsuccessful. Ledyard seems, by his letters from Cairo, to have been in great hopes of reaching the latter of these places, but Mr Bruce, as appears by a number of marginal notes, written by him on the margin of the "Proceedings of the African Association, 1790," ridiculed his ignorance of the difficulties which he must have encountered, and considered him as a madman. Mr Browne found an entrance impracticable in 1794.

Nothing, therefore, is known of Abyssinia since Mr Bruce left it. Even the name of the present king is uncertain. Several Abyssinians have borne testimony to the general outlines of Mr Bruce's narrative; but as thirty years have now elapsed since his departure, and many of the Abyssinians must be ignorant of his story and actions, little dependence ought to be placed on the reports of individuals, unless they were at Gondar during the time of his residence there. Some of them told Mr Browne, that Mr Bruce had never been at what is reckoned in Habbesh the true head of the Nile; which we know to be otherwise. The Abay has long been accounted the head of the Nile in Abyssinia. They confirmed the particulars of his splendid residence at court, his being governor of Ras-el-fil, and his shooting through seven shields with a candle, &c. Vide Browne's Travels, Preface, p. 24.

After he came to Cairo, he transcribed, from the stripes, his remarks on the causes of the inundation of the Nile, and the Bahar-el-Abiad, with the stations of his route through the desert, into a quarto book, bound in parchment, evidently for the purpose of composing the map.

It is certain, from the tenor of all these journals, that Mr Bruce uniformly acknowledged the Abiad to be a larger stream than the Abawi, on account of its rising in a rainy country; but never supposed that it was any thing more than an accessary branch of that river whose sources he had visited, and which the natives of Habbesh, Sennaar, and Atbara, joined in declaring to be the river of Egypt.

No. XLIII.

List of the Ethiopic MSS. brought from Habbesh by Mr Bruce.

The Abyssinians have the Scriptures entire as we have, and reckon the same number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at least in private hands; few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchase the whole, either of the historical or prophetical books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New; for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed, no where, except in churches, do you see more than the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in one person's possession, and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these.

The following is a list of the Ethiopic MSS. brought from Gondar by Mr Bruce, and now in the library at Kinnaird:

I. The Old Testament, in five large quarto volumes, each about a foot in length and breadth. These contain all the books in our canon, except the Psalms, and several of the Apocrypha. A book called the Prophecies of Enoch is inserted before that of Job. The Psalms are

common in Abyssinia, but by some accident Mr Bruce had no copy of them. For a short view of the book of Enoch see the subjoined note *.

II. Two copies of the Gospels, in four volumes, two of which are in small quarto, answering in size to the two volumes which contain the writings of the apostles, and the rest of the New Testament, mentioned in No. IV.

* The book of Enoch was originally written in Greek, probably by some Alexandrian Jew. The original is lost; but a large fragment of it may be found in Kircher. Oedip. Aegyp. Vol. II. p. 69.

It is singular that the oldest traditions of the East attributed the invention of the arts to a race of evil and degenerate men, who were as depraved in their morals as able in their understandings. Cain and his children are said to have invented agriculture, architecture, metallurgy, music, and poetry; arts, which some may think, deserving of a nobler origin. The history of the giants who provoked the vengeance of God, on account of their lawless actions, is a favourite legend in Abyssinia. The names of the principal Angels, or sons of God, who went in to the daughters of men, are recorded; and the dimensions of their offspring, the giants, are better known in the monastery of Waldubba than those of the Pyramids in Europe.

To give an instance of this, which may illustrate both the nature of the Abyssinian fables, and their Synaxar or Martyrology itself; a book written by one Behaila Michael, gives the following description of *Satniel*, or Satan, the chief of the rebel angels. Having enumerated his immense army, he adds, "that his stature was 100,700 cubits, angelic "measure. His head was like a great mountain; his mouth about 40 cubits. His eye-"brows were three days journey asunder. When he wished to turn about his eye-balls, "he could scarcely do it in a week's time. He had hands 70, and feet 7000 cubits long. "His face was a day's journey, and * * * 100 cubits, like those angels of whom "Ezekiel, the prophet, testifies, that with two wings they covered their faces, with two "they covered their feet, with two their hands, and with two their lower extremities." For these and other miraculous contents of the Ethiopic books of piety, vide Ludolphi Comment. ad suam Hist. Æthiop. p. 347—351, and 285—293.

The translation from the Greek, which is found in the Ethiopic bible, under the name Metsahaf Henoc, is divided into 90 *Kefel*, or chapters. It begins with this preface: "In "the name of God, the merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and of great mercy and ho-"liness. This book is the book of Henoch the prophet. May his blessing and help be "with him, who loves him for ever and ever, Amen. Chap. I. The word of the blessing "of Enoch, with which he blessed the chosen and the righteous, that were of old. May "it be in the day of temptation a protection against all the evil and wicked. And Enoch "lifted up his voice and spake, a holy man of God, while his eyes were open, and he "saw a holy vision in the heavens, which the angels revealed to him. And I heard from

III. The Synodos, or Constitutions of the Apostles, beautifully written, and containing 215 folia. An analysis of this large volume is given by Ludolf in his Commentarius ad Historiam Abyssiniæ. It forms what is called the *kanoun*, or positive law of the church, beyond the letter of which the clergy have no judicial powers.

IV. The Acts of the Apostles, and all the epistles in our canon, with the Revelation of St John, in two small quarto volumes, uniform with the Gospels before mentioned.

V. A Short Chronicle of the Kings of Abyssinia, from Arwè to Bacuffa, with a very curious preface on the law and customs brought, as is pretended, from Jerusalem, by Ibn Hakim, the son of Solomon. From this preface is extracted the information respecting the great officers of

" them every thing, and I understood what I saw." After this follows the history of the angels, of their having descended from heaven, and produced giants with the daughters of men; of their having instructed these giants in the arts of war, and peace, and luxury. The names of the leading spirits are mentioned, which appear to be of Hebrew original, but corrupted by Greek pronunciation. The resolution of God to destroy them is then revealed to Enoch. These topics occupy about 18 chapters, which Mr Bruce had translated into English, but, weary of the subject, proceeded no further. From the 18th to the 50th chapter, Enoch is led by Uriel and Raphael through a series of visions, not much connected with the main subject of the book. He saw the burning valley of the fallen spirits, the paradise of the saints, the utmost ends of the earth, the treasuries of the thunder and lightning, winds, rain, dew, and the angels who presided over these. He was led into the place of the general judgment, saw the ancient of days on his throne, and all the kings of the earth before him. At the 52d chap. Noah is said to have been alarmed at the enormous wickedness of mankind, and, fearing vengeance, to have implored the advice of his great-grandfather. Enoch told him, that a flood of waters would destroy the whole race of man, and a flood of fire punish the angels, whom the deluge could not affect. (Chap. 59.) The subject of the angels is resumed. Semeiaza, Artukafa, Arimeen, Kakaba-el, Tusael, Ramiel, Danael, and others, to the amount of twenty, appear at the head of the fallen spirits, and give fresh instances of their rebellious disposition. At Kefel (62), Enoch gives his son Mathusala, a long account of the sun, moon, stars, the year, the months, the winds, and like physical phenomena. This takes up eight chapters, after which the patriarch makes a recapitulation of what he had uttered in the former pages. The remaining 20 chapters are employed on the history of the deluge, Noah's preparations for it, and the success which attended them. The destruction of all flesh, excepting his family, and the execution of Divine vengeance on the angels and their followers, conclude this absurd and romantic work.

the court, given in the Introduction to the History of Abyssinia. As the MS. contains a perpetual chronicle of all the princes, from Icon Amlac to Bacuffa, inclusive, it has been of great use in preserving entire the chain of history, which is broken in the larger annals. It consists of 48 folia, of the quarto size, ten of which belong to the preface.

VI. The Kebir Zaneguste, or Glory of the Kings; the celebrated book of Axum, particularly described in the note to No. 45. of this appendix.

VII. The Annals of Abyssinia, in five volumes quarto; the principal source of the history given in the third volume of the second edition of the Travels. The first of these contains the Kebir Zaneguste, verbatim, as in the preceding number, but having many various readings, no titles nor divisions to the chapters, nor the usual appendix. The 2d contains the history of Amda Sion, Zera Jacob, Baeda Mariam, Iscander, Naod, David, Claudius, Menas, and Sertza Denghel. The 3d contains the annals of Susneus, Facilidas, and Hannes I. The 4th contains the annals of Yasous Tallak, or Yasous the Great; of Teclahaimanout I. Tiflis, and David IV. The 5th contains the annals of Bacuffa, his son Yasous II. and grandson Joas, who was murdered in the year Mr Bruce entered Abyssinia. The history of Ras Michael is an interesting part of this volume, which authenticates his character, as drawn by Mr Bruce.---See a particular account of these MSS. in No. 45. of this Appendix.

VIII. The Synaxar (Συναξαρια), or Lives of the Ethiopic Saints, arranged according to their order in the national calendar, in four volumes quarto. Most of the idle legends, contained in this book, are translations from the Greek and Coptic. The saints are nothing inferior to their western brethren in strength of faith. They perform greater miracles, live more ascetic lives, and suffer more dreadful martyrdom than those holy men; all which is nothing surprising in the native country of credulity, superstition, and religious zeal.

IX. A copy of the Song of Solomon in the Amharic, the Falashan, the Gafat, the Agow, the Tcheretz Agow, and the Galla languages, along with a vocabulary of these languages, given in No. XLVII. of this Appendix. The MS. is on vellum and uniform in size with the preceding books.

No. XLIV.

PART I.

Short Geographical Account of the Abyssinian Provinces.

The Abyssinians account the Kebir Zaneguste, or Chronicle of Axum, a faithful repository of their ancient history. The slightest attention, however, may convince the reader, that it is the production of an ignorant monk, who used the Septuagint translation of the Bible, or rather the Geez* version, as the groundwork of a ridiculous fable, to please his countrymen. It seems to have been written after the restoration of the line of ancient kings in the person of Icon Amlac, A. D. 1268.

It contains no account of the city of Axum, the ancient metropolis; but an Appendix, which is usually added, gives a list of the officers whom Solomon sent along with his son Menilech; a history of the ceremonies at the coronation of the kings, of their donations to the city itself; of its being founded by Abreha and Atsbeha, two brothers, kings of Habbesh, near the tomb of Ethiopius, the son of Ham; with such a description of its ancient monuments as the ignorant friars give of those in Jerusalem. A catalogue of the kings of Ethiopia, from Arwé the serpent, who governed the country soon after the flood, to Teclahaimanout, in 1769; of the patriarchs of Alexandria, and the Mahometan caliphs; with a short chronicle of the reign of David, in which Axum was burned by Gragné, finish the collection. These lists are commonly found in all books which affect to treat of the national history from the earliest times; and exactly resemble those in the first chapters of the Jewish Chronicles. The

* The Abyssinian writers call their country Ethiopia, and its inhabitants Agaazi or free men. The Arabic name is Habbesh, which is pronounced Abesh. The Geez is the name of the old language of the country, now used only in writings and books.

names, and order, and reigns of the kings are very inaccurately transcribed, and the various readings are accordingly numerous. The first history which deserves any credit is that of the wars of Amda Sion with the Mahometans of Adel in the 13th century; that of Zera Jacob follows; after which the annals, though occasionally broken, are upon the whole tolerably complete. The history of long and brilliant reigns is always best preserved; in times of intestine commotion few having either courage or leisure to write. The following sketch of the Abyssinian monarchy, as it existed in the days of Zera Jacob and his descendant David, is extracted from the best authorities, and intended to prepare the reader for the perusal of the history of the nation, from the year 1268 to the time when Mr Bruce entered the country.

Abyssinia, in the days of Amda Sion, was bounded on the north by the 16th degree of north latitude, or the limit of the tropical rains; it extended on the south to Narea, perhaps to Caffa, in north latitude 7°; in a line of 540 geographical miles. On the east, the kingdom of Dawaro, one of its provinces, was bounded by the 44th degree E. L. from Greenwich; and Bizamo, its limit on the west, by the 35th degree. The Nile formed a strong natural boundary on the western side; but, though that river inclosed it also on the south, it was nearer its source, more inconsiderable, and thence a weaker obstruction to the Abyssinian arms. The ruling and greatest part of the inhabitants of this extent were of Arab origin, descendants of a colony from the Yemen, or Arabia Felix. The aboriginal tribes were reduced to dependance, or exiled to the mountains; the Galla had not yet appeared; the Gafates were never considerable; the Shankala wandered around the frontiers, which, as in all barbarous kingdoms, were ill defined, and changed almost every year by annual warfare. After some account of the independent tribes on the north, the provinces may be mentioned in their natural order. Each of them is divided into many small districts, called, in Geez, Midr, or "the land." Towns, or villages, often mentioned in the national history, occur in these; nor must it form any objection to the accuracy of enumeration, that many districts have been swallowed up in larger governments, or that considerable towns have disappeared altogether, especially when we observe, that the natives uniformly give the name of a place,

whatever may be its consequence, and leave you to guess at its situation from your own knowledge of the country. It is only to be regretted, that the list of small districts is by no means so complete as could be wished; that their relative situation is very undetermined; and that their existence within a respective province is all the certainty which can be obtained.

The wandering Arabs and Shankala inclose Abyssinia on the north. The former are Jahaleen*, from the opposite coast of the Red Sea, at a period subsequent to the time of Mahomet. The latter are the native inhabitants of ancient Ethiopia, woolly-haired, deep black, archers from their infancy, of a wandering pastoral life, and perhaps the descendants of the parent race of Negroes in all Africa. A very interesting account of this people is given by Mr Bruce in his history, in the Travels, of Yasous the Great, and particularly of Oustas the Usurper. It is a transcript of many observations recorded in his journals, at Gondar, Horcacamoot, and Sennaar. These black tribes inhabit a larger space of ground than all Abyssinia and Nubia together. They encircle the whole western length of the former country, from 11 to 16 degrees north latitude; join the Galla† on the south, and coast down the White River to Sennaar, where they rule under the name of Fungi. To the north of Abyssinia they are mixed with Arabs, the Beja, and the Belowé; in which quarter they are called Dubena. The same race seems to exist in the ridge of mountains to the east of the Tigre, under the name of Doba, All the nations, on the limits of the tropical rains, are more intermixed than those to the west of Habbesh. The Beja, by Edrisi called Boja, are a shepherd, or wandering tribe, in the mountainous range north of Souakem; the Taka Hallanga seem to be of the same nation; but there is strong probability in favour of the opinion which identifies the Below with the Albanim, a race of degenerate Christians.

In short, all the nations, which dwell from the southern border of Egypt to Habbesh, are either Arabs, aboriginal Ethiopians, now confined

* Wild Arabs of the nomad kind.

† The *Galla* are a powerful, numerous and barbarous people, originally from the heart of Africa, which appeared on the eastern frontiers of Abyssinia, about the middle of the 16th century, and has gradually got possession of all its southern provinces.

to the mountains, or Shankala blacks, also aboriginal, but distinguished by language and colour from the other two. The languages are, Arabic, Bejan, and Shankala; of the two last of which we have no complete specimen. Perhaps in the Taka or Bejan we might trace the language of ancient Egypt, and discover some vestiges of the great intercourse which once subsisted between these two countries.

I. After Mazaga, the low country peopled by the Dubeno Shankala, we enter *Tigré*, the ancient seat of the Abyssinian monarchy. This province is very extensive and mountainous. On its north-east corner, along the shore, is what is called the territory of the Midre-bahar-nagash, or Prince of the Sea-coast. In better ages this district contained Arkîko and Masuah, the only convenient harbour possessed by Habbesh, first seized by the Turks in the unfortunate reign of king Menas, and now subject to a Näibe of Begla origin, a disgrace to human nature, and to Abyssinia in particular. The Shankala pitch their tents, and drive their cattle along the Mareb. Tigre is bounded by the territory of the Bahar-nagash, that is by the river Mareb on the E. and the river Tacazzé on the W. It is about 120 miles broad from E. to W. and 200 long. It is divided into the following portions, which are by no means equal to one another, nor yet ascertained in geographical order.

After the territories of the Baharnagash, whose capital is Dobarwa, come the districts of, 1. Axum, 2. Adet, 3. Afmecuonen, 4. Agamia, 5. Amba Sanet, 6. Torat, 7. Siré, 8. Bora, 9. Selawa, 10. Enderta, 11. Taderar, 12. Tamben, 13. Garalta, 14. Hagaray, 15. Membarta, 16. Nadêra, 17. Saharta, 18. Senafe, 19. Bet Abba Garima, 20. Bur laali, 21. Bur tahti, 22. The Doba country, the natives of which are Pagans. Some of these have been converted to Mahometanism; but the greater part remain in their ancient superstition.

II. Samen, a very mountainous region between the rivers Tacazzé and Coror; bounded by Tigre on the north, Angot on the east, Amhara on the south, and Begemder and Dembea on the west, is about 80 miles long, and 30 at its greatest breadth. This country includes the kingdom of Lasta; the districts of Gouliou, Wâg, Tsamâ, Tsera, which belong to the Agows; Wazirât, Dehaana, and several more, possessed by mountaineers, who are often rebellious and independent. Samen has

native chiefs, who acknowledge as their superior the governor of Tigre, Enderta, or Begemder, by turns, as suits their own interest or inclination. As this hilly region is of great service to its possessor, when at war with his neighbours, it is the cause of perpetual quarrels between the adjacent governors. Ras Michael, governor of Tigre, wrested his office and life from Woldo of Enderta, chiefly on this account; and long maintained a bitter enmity against Ayo, and his son, Mariam Barea, governors of Begemder, which, in the end, proved fatal to the latter of these noblemen. Lasta has a celebrated defile among its mountains, called the pass of Tchetchico, before which many Abyssinian armies have perished.

III. Begemder, a rich and valuable province, bounded on the north by Balessan, a district adjoining to Samen; on the east by Lasta and Angot; on the south by Amhara; and on the west by Dembea. Its principal districts are, 1. Andabet, 2. Atcana, 3. Dabr, 4. Estê, 5. Guna, 6. Koma, 7. Maket, near Angot, 8. Meshalamia, 9. Nefas-mautcha, 10. Samada, 11. Tsama, 12. Wain-daga, 13. Wudo. It is about 180 miles, at its greatest length, and 60 in breadth. Lasta is often included in this province.

IV. Amhâra, the region which gives language, manners, and customs, to the modern Abyssinians. It is bounded by Begemder on the north; Angot on the east; Walaka and Marrabet on the south; and the Nile on the west. The Woolo and Wutchilo Gallo hem it in on the south and east; these savages having been allowed to take possession even of Angot and Walaka, formerly in the centre of the Abyssinian empire. Amhara is about 120 miles long from E. to W. and about 40 broad.

The districts are, 1. Akamba, 2. Ambasele, once a state-prison, 3. Anbasît. 4. Armonem, 5. Atronsa Mariam, a celebrated church in the better ages of the kingdom, 6. Bedabedje, 7. Barārā, 8. Batshata, 9. Bedagedal, 10. Dada, 11. Dadje, 12. Demah, 13. Ephrata, 14. Ewarza, 15. Feresbahr, 16. Ganeta Gergis, 17. Geshe-ber, 18. Grumghe, 19. Ghel, 20. Gheshe, 21. Amba-Geshen, sometimes called Amba-israel, the prison of the Ozoros, or princes, 22. Hagara-christos, 23. Kerna-mariam, 24. Kisarya, 25. Laikueytâ, 26. Tâtakueyta, 27. Mecana-selassē, 28. Malza, 29. Shegla, 30. Tabor, 31. Tedubaba, or Tedbaba Mariam, 32. Walsa, 33. Ward, 34. Wagada, 35. Wanz-eggir, 36. Zoramba. To these may

be added *Walaka,* a low, flat, and narrow district between the rivers Geshen and Samba, S. of Amhara.

Of these districts, which are given from Mr Ludolf's history on the authority of Gregory, a well informed monk of Hagara-christos, some are very remarkable, and often mentioned in the annals of Abyssinia. Mecana-selasse, Tedbaba Mariam, Ganeta Georgis, and Atronso-Mariam were once four of the most celebrated and wealthy churches in Ethiopia. They were the principal objects of royal bounty during the reigns of Zera Jacob and his successors, till the reign of David III. All these, and many others, were laid in ruins in the calamitous war of Gragnē, which began when the Portuguese embassy left the country in A. D. 1526.

V. Shoa, a province, to the S. of Amhara, having Walaka between it and Amhara. Shoa is small and mountainous, and now nearly independent of Habbesh. That which follows is a list of provinces now lost to Abyssinia, of which the names and inhabitants are entirely changed; and therefore deserve to be mentioned only in order to illustrate the former history of the country given in books.

1. Angot on the east side of Amhara, bordering with the Doba and Taltal, barbarous tribes near the Red Sea. This region is occupied by the Bertuma Galla, and their chief Guangoul. It once had many beautiful and ancient churches, some of which, as well as other curious particulars relating to the province, are described in the valuable journal of Alvarez, secretary to the Portugueze embassy to Ethiopia, Anno 1520—1526. No European traveller has since that time visited Angot Amhara, or Shoa. The embassy went through Angot and Amhara to find David III. at the fair of Adel, 1520. It followed the king into Guragé, Fatigâr, and several of the southern provinces.

To Angot we may add Bugna, a district on the east of it; and proceed to

2. Dawaro, a large province, bordering on Adel, and separated from Angot and Dancali by the Hanazo, a river which falls into the bay of Zeila. On the north-west of Dawaro was Gedm, a desert and hilly region running parallel to the Hanazo and opposite to Angot; on its south-west was Gan; and on its south frontier Bali, on the river Ha-

wash; a small kingdom, through which the Galla in the year 1559 entered the Abyssinian territories.

3. Westward of Gan was Ifat, a large district, bounded by Shoa and by Marrabet (a small region, south of Amhara, and in the latitude of Gedm) on the west and north; and by the river Hawash, Bali, Gan, and Dawaro on the south and east.

4. Beyond the Hawash, south of Gan and Bali, lay Fatigar, a large Mahometan province, which was bounded on the south east by Adel. Mr Bruce's map places the southern extremity of Fatigar in 7 deg. 40 min. north latitude, undoubtedly on the authority of the Jesuits.

5. Westward of the southern extremity of this province, between the parallels of about 7 degrees 20 minutes, and 9 degrees north latitude, were many small kingdoms, once subject to Habbesh, and occasionally mentioned in its history; the names of which, in their order from east to west, are as follow: Gumar on the south-west of Fatigar; then Bahar-gamo, or Bargamo; Suf-gamo, or Suggamo; Buzama, Cambat, and Hadea; to the north of which four last were Wedge, Alamalè, Mugar, Gombo, Ganz, and Guraguē. West of Hadea is Gingiro, and on its northern border is Caffa, then Narea; and, proceeding still towards the Nile, Shat, Zet, Contch; and *Gafat*, close on the Nile, opposite to Damot. West of Gafat is Godera, or Gooderoo; to the north-west of which is Bizamo.

All this vast tract of country is now filled by the Boren and Bertumà Galla*; and consequently accessible to no European. Caffa, Narea, and Gingiro still subsist as independent states; and the two first profess a corrupted kind of Christianity. That part of Mr Bruce's map, which relates to the lost Abyssinian provinces, is compiled chiefly from those of Tellez and Ludolf, assisted by accounts which he received in Habbesh from Galla and Agow natives, and from Mahometan traders, who still cross these wild regions in their way to the south of Africa.

VI. Damot, a province which the Jesuits have placed south of the Nile, in the country of the Galla, but which Mr Bruce describes more accurately as the eastern division of the tract which is encircled by the

* Eastern and Western Galla.

river; divided from Begemder, Amhara, and Shoa by the Nile issuing from the lake of Dembea; surrounded by the river on the south, and parted from Gojam by the mountainous ridge of Litchambara. It is bounded by the river Temci on the E. by the river Gult on the W. by the Nile on the S. and by the mountains of Amid-amid on the N. It is about 40 miles from N. to S. and 20 from E. to W.; it is a very hilly but fertile region, inhabited chiefly by Galla, whom Yasous the Great brought over the Nile from Gooderoo to defend the frontier against their countrymen.

VII. Gojam, or more properly, Agow-midré. This beautiful and extensive territory, comprehends a large portion of the Abyssinian dominions. It is divided from Damot by the range of Aformasha and Litchambara; and reaches on the north-west to Kuara and the country of the Shankala. On the south-west and south it is bounded by the Nile. Of this country and its inhabitants, the Agows, Mr Bruce gives a particular description, which, as it was made by an eye-witness, the only one who ever visited Gojam with an intention to discover and observe, may be reckoned the most curious and accurate that occurs in the works of any traveller.

VIII. Dembea. This province comprehends all the country that lies around the lake. On the east it includes Foggora, Dara, and Alata; on the north-east Gondar, the metropolis, and the rich district beneath it; on the south-west, the district of Bed (the plain barren country) and, on the west, the lands around Waindaga and Dingleber. It is extremely fertile, and governed by an officer, called Dembea-Cantiba, who levies from it the Hatze Kolla, a quantity of the finest flour for the use of the king's household *.

IX. Kuara, a wild district, lying west of the lake of Dembea, and bordering on Fasuclo, and the country of the Shankala. It was an ancient conquest from the Arabs, and in honour of the activity of the

* The Galla brought over the Nile, have possessions in Damot and Gojam, which reach to the south of the lake of Dembea. The tribe called Djawi inhabits the district on the Nile called Maitsha, of which Ibaba is the capital, next to Gondar the largest city in Abyssinia.

general who gained it, obtained the privilege of sendic and nagareet, (the colours and kettle-drum) the insignia of provincial dignity; but its governor has no vote in council. The queen, in Mr Bruce's time, was a native of Kuara; and her relations formed a turbulent, ambitious faction, under the title of Kuaragna.

X. Walkait, Tzagade, and Woggora are three low provinces north of the lake of Dembea. The first of these is an unwholesome district, often used as a state prison. Tsegade and Woggora, particularly the latter, are excellent corn countries. Ras-el-fil, of which Mr Bruce was appointed governor, is a Mahometan wild district, the most northerly territory belonging to the Abyssinians, and copiously described in his Travels.

These are all the provinces which the kings of Abyssinia ever possessed. Though now diminished into an ordinary kingdom, Habbesh, under proper government, might still be the first of African monarchies, and promote, with Christian benevolence, the civilization of an extensive and unfortunate continent.

No. XLIV.

PART II.

SHORT VIEW OF THE ABYSSINIAN COURT AND GOVERNMENT.

The kingdom of Habbesh, as it is called by the neighbouring nations, is the oldest and greatest monarchy in Africa. But the Abyssinians, like other barbarous tribes, know little of their own origin; and beyond a certain period in their annals, all is fable and ignorance. The Kebir Neguste, or book of Axum, is a romance, composed to gratify the na-

tional pride by some ill-informed and credulous monk, but the Appendix contains some fragments of truth, which enable us to discover, faintly, the ancient state of the kingdom; and to combine a few particulars relative to the gradual formation of its laws, customs, and government.

The tradition, that the Queen of Saba, who visited Solomon, lived at Axum, is an opinion which, though destitute of foundation, is universally received in Habbesh. It arose from the religious circumstances of the nation, both before and after its conversion to Christianity. At what particular time the Sabæans colonized the western side of the Red Sea we are not informed; but we know, that it was not very long before the æra of Alexander. That the Arabs had invaded the country on the south-west side of the Straits of Babelmendeb, before his time, is probable; but we hear of no large nation in the country we now write of, at a much later period than the æra above mentioned.

The ancient history of Saba or Hamyar is acknowledged by the Arabs themselves to be very obscure. We find their accounts of it in Pococke's excellent treatise on their national origins. The hints, translated by Pococke, are faintly illustrated by the accounts of that region in Agatharcides and Arrian. The writings of Moses, indeed, give us the names of the tribes, which first peopled the south of Arabia; the merchandize and riches of Sheba and Saba, the most eminent of the Cushite tribes *, are frequently mentioned by the prophets; and the embassy of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon is generally known. Agatharcides, who lived under the ninth Ptolemy, gives us a long and very instructive detail of the Sabean government, trade, and riches. In the time of the Emperor Trajan, the kingdom still flourished; but, in the age of Justinian, the name of Hamyar had supplanted, at least amongst foreigners, the ancient one of Saba.

In ages still later, the Cushites, near the Indian Ocean, were called by the Greeks Ινδοι, a name which has led authors into many errors. The kingdom of Hamyar, or of the Homeritæ, in the S. W. side of the peninsula, is represented in church histories as being often at variance with that of Habbesh, then formed into a powerful state.

* The Beni Cush, and Beni Joctan or Beni Saba, were early united by conquest. The Hamyarites arose chiefly from the Beni Joctan.

Hadramout, Saba, and Hamyar, were anciently separate states. At length, however, they became united in one monarchy; and the Jewish religion gained such influence over the minds of the Hamyiarite kings, that they abandoned the worship of the sun and stars, their native religious rites, for the Mosaic faith. The same influence extended to their colony, the Abyssinians, on the other side of the gulf; and it is to this circumstance that we must impute the Jewish opinions and fictions current in that country.

The kings of Hamyar in Yemen, were called Tobbâ, a word signifying Successor, and equal in sense to Chalif. The Arabs reckon 43 of these from Kahtan, or Joctan, the son of Eber, to Dhu Jadan. We must consider their list as made up at random, of the names of celebrated princes, who had occasionally appeared in the history of Hamyar, and had some particularity by which they survived the oblivion which time had thrown over the rest. Towards the end, the list is, as usual, more authentic. Dhu Nowas, the 43d king of Hamyar, was so addicted to Judaism, that he persecuted, in a very barbarous manner, all who would not profess that religion. He lived in the time of the Emperor Justin, and Ariat, or Hawaryat Negus of Axum. Ariat, being a Christian, entered Arabia to revenge the wrongs of Christianity; and made himself master of Hamyar and Sanaa, its capital, which the Ethiopian kings governed by deputies 72 years.

Under the viceroy Mashruk, the son of the Negus Abreha Elashram, Yemen revolted from the Abyssinians, under Seif Ibn Dhi Yazan, a Hamyarite, assisted by the arms of Anushirwan, king of Persia. The Persians killed this prince soon after, and Anushirwan took possession of all Yemen, which was governed by Persian Satraps, till the Bazan, the last of these, turned Mahometan, and it fell under the Chalifs.

The authentic modern history of Abyssinia commences at a much later period than the time of Mahomed. But these particulars have been mentioned to account for two remarkable facts; the prevalence of Jewish manners, and Persian customs, in modern Habbesh; circumstances which have not failed to introduce peculiar and disgraceful corruptions of Christianity, among an ignorant people, since the era of their conversion, A. D. 333; between which and the reign of Amda Sion, A. D. 1268, is a long interval of total obscurity.

The particular customs of Abyssinia must be gathered from history at large; the intention of this sketch is only to exhibit, from Ethiopic MSS. and other good authorities, a short view of the Abyssinian constitution, such as it appears to have been in the better days of the empire; to enumerate the ceremonies used at the coronation of the king, the principal officers of state, and some arrangements practised in the court and the camp, which throw light on the character of the nation.

What may be called, in familiar language, the etiquette and costume of the Abyssinian court, is of Persic origin. It was borrowed in early times from Hamyar, then subject to the Persians, by the sovereigns of Axum, who strove to emulate the magnificence and retired majesty of the *Great King*. But the Abyssinians choose rather to ascribe these customs to Solomon, whose son, Menilec, they vainly account the parent of their royal family. The first Christian missionaries, finding these and other Jewish traditions confirmed in the country, chose to respect them rather than refute them. Circumcision, the doctrine of clean and unclean meats, and many other Jewish rites and ceremonies are therefore part of the religion of the Abyssinians at this day.

"We write (says the author of the MS. chronicle already described) the law and custom of the kingdom, or government of Ibn Hakim, or Menilec, the son of Solomon. With him came the 12 doctors of the law, that form the right hand bench (kanya umber) in judgment." He next mentions the other officers of eminence which came along with this prince; such as the master of the horse, high chamberlain, and he who carried the Ten Commandments and holy water. He adds, that after the *falasha*, or separation of the Abyssinian Jews from the Christians, that the kings appointed the posterity of the Levites, then converted, to be judges in their temporal courts.

The writers on laws and customs all pretend to give the names of the modern offices, which were, as they say, introduced by Menilec; but they vary so much amongst themselves, that it is impossible to reconcile their accounts. Without troubling the reader with the derivation, we shall state some particulars of the national ceremonies. And first, with respect to

The KING.—He is chosen by the principal officers in the army, and the strongest party at court. There is no preference given to birthright, legitimacy, or rank, except that he must be descended of the royal family, and unmutilated in his person. He is, by the constitution, absolute master of the lives and property of his subjects; is approached with prostration, and still affects as much as possible the secluded majesty of the kings of Parthia, once sovereigns of Arabia Felix. He never appears in public but on horseback; wears white robes, and a diadem of white muslin over his long hair; sits in an alcove of lattice-work near the council when assembled, and sends his vote to the board by a particular officer.

When a king dies, and the succession is not disputed, he is usually coffined before the proclamation of the next. The body is thus brought into a large hall of the palace; the queen and royal family, with the principal courtiers, make immoderate and frantic exclamations, and an ostentatious show of grief; the whole city is in mourning; the people cut their hair, and go neglected. The young king, often a child, is then brought into the zefan bet, or banqueting room; the priests, judges, and nobles, who happen to be near, attend; they spread carpets on the floor, and place him on the throne; the kees hatze, or king's almoner, who represents the priest who officiated at the Jewish coronations, pours olive oil, from a horn, on his head; and the serach maseri, or chamberlain, crowns him, with these words, "****, king of kings, is dead; ****, our king, liveth; his we were, who is dead; his we are, who is alive. Mourn ye for the dead, and rejoice for the living." At this the iteagerd, appointed female mourners, raise a shriek of lamentation; while the nobles, on the contrary, shout for joy; exclaiming, Long live King ****! and, prostrating themselves, kiss his hand.

During the performance of this ceremony, the outer square of the palace is filled with the household troops. When it is finished, the body of nobles leave the presence-chamber, and go into the square, where they find the large kettle-drums, always kept there, to announce the royal edicts. The king is then proclaimed, by beat of drum, in the same words used at the coronation; the whole multitude shout for joy; the musqueteers fire their pieces; and those who are differently armed, skir-

mish, in honour of the day. The news of the event are then diffused through the provinces, in the disorderly manner that they were through the metropolis.

When this burst of joy is ended, the funeral of the late king is celebrated. Such is, at least, the custom, when all is regularly and quietly conducted; but many of the kings of Habbesh find a hasty unceremonious grave. The body, being embalmed in a particular manner, by persons who follow that profession, is put into a coffin of the wanzey tree, and conducted, with great ceremony, into the vaults of some favourite church.

The young king, the nobles, and all the royal family of either sex, join in the funeral procession. Sometimes the body is not coffined, but laid on a couch or bier, covered with very rich brocade, or cloth embroidered with gold. This is borne along, with the sendics, or royal standards, flying before it. The kettle drums sound mournfully, and at irregular intervals. One or two of the monarch's favourite steeds are next led after, richly caparaisoned. Then, a number of young noblemen, and Ozoros *, follow, bearing the robes, the crown, the belt, sword, spear, and shield, of the late king; and change them often among themselves, as they proceed, to excite grief (as they express it) in the spectators. The queen, for the same purpose, sometimes carries the crown, for a considerable space, on her own head. She and her daughters, the Ozoros, and all the court ladies, with their hair cut short, and their cheeks torn with their nails, ride after the bearers of the regalia, on mules, with piercing shrieks, and the most frantic demonstrations of sorrow. The young king, his nobles, and officers, the priests with their crosses, next advance, some on horseback, and others on foot. They have their heads shaved, their clothes old and torn, and exhibit every symptom of dejection and grief. The promiscuous multitude closes the procession.

* Children, or relations of the king, of both sexes. In Habbesh, the king's nearest relations are always reckoned the most noble. As it is the apparent interest of every prince to promote his own kindred, these frequently hold most of the considerable offices in the kingdom.

When they approach the church, the priests read a kind of service, from the Psalms of David. The coffin is then placed in the sepulchre of the kings, in presence of the royal family and the nobles; one of which last, called the Betûdet, is obliged to arrange, and bear the expenses of, the whole ceremony.

By his order, the empty bier is carried back, and a person, employed to represent the late king, rides after, on one of the caparaisoned steeds, drest in the royal robes, and armed with the spear and shield. This was the case at the funeral of Susneus, as related by Tellez; but it appears, from the MSS. and Mr Bruce's papers, that it is the custom for the Betudet to rig out an image drest in the royal arms and robes, to fix it on the steed, and drive him round the square before the palace. The image is called Misle, or the resemblance. The kettle-drums beat, and the royal standards wave before it. This is not done at the funeral of the king only, but also at those of the queen, ozoros, or any person of great eminence, and is usually called "burying with sendic and nagareet."

A part of the army and multitude meet the returning procession with bitter cries and ejaculations. The nobles and courtiers again appear in the presence-chamber, before the king, in tears and lamentation. Then, after an address from some of the most respectable of their number, inculcating the vanity of lamenting what cannot be prevented, and what must happen to all mankind, they conclude, with congratulations and prayers, for a happy and glorious reign to the new sovereign.

The mourning is protracted, according to the royal pleasure, and even resumed afterwards, when the king thinks proper. This last is called the Tascar, or commemoration of the deceased; it is generally followed by a kind of donative to the army, which introduces a festivity not very compatible with real sorrow.

In the beginning of every reign, a great change of officers usually takes place. A few of those, who were instrumental in electing the king, retain their places, or are preferred to higher. But no European court changes its servants oftner than the Abyssinian, has more formality in their creation, or a greater variety of places and offices.

Every man in Habbesh is at the disposal of his sovereign, with regard to person and property; but the crown makes no violent use of its power

in that respect. Promotion to offices is equally the king's right in Britain and Abyssinia; and a man may be displaced, and yet enjoy his *goult*, or lands; though, in a dependant court of judicature, such as remains to be described, it is easy for the sovereign to condemn a great officer, and to take away both his life and property.

Numbers of respectable people enjoy lands, in the provinces, from father to son, without being deprived of them by the court*. But the governors, who resemble the feudal barons of the Gothic age in Europe, having full power, in civil, military, and judicial affairs, often strip the provincial inhabitants of their fortunes, to bestow them on their own favourites. There are not, indeed, in Abyssinia, many instances of grants of lands *in perpetuum*, but there is a *consuetudinary and tacit prescription*, which answers the same purpose, unless defeated by injustice or rapacity. The form of a royal grant is as follows; proclamation, by nagareet, being the symbol of investiture:

"We (or I), Melec Segued (for instance), king of kings, son of Menas, king of Ethiopia, of the line of David, give, as a feof, (goult) to our servant or slave (the word is gebra, and signifies both), the land of **** (services are sometimes mentioned); and command this to be written in the book of the treasury."

Grants to the church are intended to be perpetual; and many of these, from old kings, are to be found in the Appendix to the book of Axum; which, though expressed in legal form, are probably all forgeries. An authentic royal grant, of a very curious kind, from Susneus to his brother Ras Sela Christos, will be given in the history of that prince.

The beat of drum, which infeofs the future possessor, has been improperly enough employed to ratify articles of religion. Every new king, abuna, and itchegué, (these two last are the primate of Ethiopia, and the grand-prior of all the monasteries), are called upon to declare their sentiments with regard to certain religious opinions, which have long divided the Ethiopic clergy. These sentiments, when given, are proclaimed by

* All who have lands, are obliged to join the governor of the province in his military expeditions, with their servants and kindred.

beat of drum; while the opposite party retires in great indignation, exclaiming, "Will ye adjudge the faith, like lands or moveables!"

In very remote times, the kings of Habbesh, like their ancestors, the kings of Saba, were seen only by a few great persons, and their own women and slaves. When war obliged them to take the field against their enemies, this custom was relinquished very slowly; and traces of it remain at this day. Amda Sion, about the year 1300, fought at the head of his own army against the Moors; nor was this the first instance of an Abyssinian king exposing his person to the eyes of the world. Zera Jacob, the next prince of any note, affected the majesty of the ancient retirement; and built a palace, with apartments secretly connected with one another, at Debra Berhan, a church at present within the precincts of Gondar. He was approached only by the priests and menial domestics of his chamber; though, when he chose, he appeared on horseback with great splendour and ceremony. David III. the unfortunate prince in whose reign the Portuguese entered Habbesh, and the kingdom was destroyed by the Mahometans, was the last monarch who displayed the magnificence of a king of kings. An account of him may be found in the journal of the embassy, written by Alvarez, which exhibits the last unclouded view of Abyssinian splendour.

The provinces, in those days, were never intrusted, for any length of time, to the same governor. To prevent rebellion, the crown frequently changed its officers, and nominated others more dependant on its bounty. It divided the empire into very small districts, and over each of these appointed a person, who was too much a slave of the court to think of independence. Such was the policy of Zera Jacob, and of all the princes before the Mahometan conquest: to an opposite system of government Abyssinia may ascribe its present miseries.

During the fair season of the year, the Abyssinian kings were always in the field. The order of their camp was so established by ancient use, that in every place it assumed the same appearance, and regular form. It is said, that even their palaces and towns were modelled according to the plan which was followed in the field. Their household was very numerous; and the members of it distinguished by badges that indicated their respective stations. The principal of these were,

1. The *Serach Maseri*, or chamberlain, who sets the crown on the king's head; sees his apartments properly ordered; and awakens him early in the morning, by his servants cracking their whips around his tent or palace. The badge is a whip made of a thong from a bull's hide. This is called maseri, and tzerah means the closet or chamber.

2. The *Tsewa*, or *Tsa-sargui*, or, as he is now called, the Rak maseri, who provides the king's bread, and manages that part of the revenue which relates to it. His badge is also a thong, from which he has the name of Maseri. Rak, or Arak, signifies the server of a table.

3. The *Daj-kelbas*, who wore in former times a gold ring, or circle, called belul: His office was to bring the king's fruit and drink. At present thechief-butler is called *Shûm mes*, " the master of the mead."

4. *Besut Eger*. The officer who spreads carpets on the ground, beneath the throne, and in solemn processions, which is a mark of honour always attended to. He also keeps the vestments and furniture of the chapel-royal.

5. The *Negus Hazebi*, steward, or general superintendant of the household. His office is now divided amongst a number of persons amenable to the Rakmaseri, and Azajes.

6. The *Lik Sof*, or *Baal-ambel-ras* (corruptly called *Palambaras*), the master of the horse. His office is to make the pages lead along the king's steeds, adorned with gold trappings, when the court is marching: the insignia are a gold saddle and bridle.

7. The *Hazgue* or *Lik Magwass*, who has the charge of the king's mule, an office of great honour. The Negus rides usually on that animal; making a point never to alight while out of doors, except on extraordinary occasions. He even rides into the presence chamber, to the foot of his throne. This officer is also called *Aisenaf;* the badge is a mule's bridle, adorned with gold.

8. The *Lik-matsan*, who wears a cotton robe, ornamented with gold. He has the charge of the royal wardrobe.

9. The *Delcame*, or *Jan-bet-tabaki*. This was the commander of the king's guard, who stood in great numbers, with spears in their hands, around the tents, and prohibited all access to any except those who had a right to enter.

10. The *Lik Diakonat*, or chief of the deacons. This priest, in later times, was called the *Acab Saat*, or keeper of the hour, because he intimated to the king the proper time for attending divine service. He is still the third ecclesiastic in Ethiopia; and, under the Abuna, is head of all the secular clergy.

11. The *Kees Hatze*, or almoner. This priest is the royal chaplain, and anoints the Negus at his coronation. He is still elected; and often supplants the *Acab Saat* in the confidence of his master.

12. The *Tsafat Azazi*, or secretary. There are usually two appointed; one as historiographer, and another for public business. They are frequently monks, and have too often the prejudices and ignorance of that order. The register of royal grants and revenues is called the *deftar*.

The Ethiopians pretend that these twelve offices were the household which accompanied Menilec from Jerusalem; consequently it follows that they are esteemed very honourable.

In the fourteenth century, while the country was yet undivided, each of these had a numerous company of servants attached to it; and the crown revenues, which were paid mostly in kind, were parcelled amongst them. The governors of the provinces generally belonged to some of these *bets*, or houses, as they were called; and the guards were divided among them. In the reigns of Amda Sion, Zera Jacob, and even of David III. the modern aristocracy was quite unknown.

The Acab Saat and Keese Hatze, with their deptera, or singing deacons, alone had easy access to the king. The royal apartments were so constructed as to have their tents close joined to them, on the one side, and those of the women on the other. A wide circumference was railed in, and hung all around with mandalot, chequered curtains, which completely hid the pavilions from the camp. About twelve gates were made in this railing, at which stood the guards, relieving one another by alternate warding and watching.

Besides the guards (jan-bet-tabakotch) there were multitudes of eunuchs (jan-darbotch) and pages (dakik tserach), whose office was to attend on the women, and perform menial services within the palace.

After the reign of Baeda Mariam, a considerable but gradual change took place in the constitution.

The lowest magistrate in this country is called the SHUM, or provost of the bounds. The whole kingdom, in the time of Amda Sion, was broken into very minute divisions, which were governed by a servant of the court, usually one who had held in it, at some period of his life, an inferior station. The Mahometan countries of Ifat, Fatigar, and Dawaro, alone deserve the name of provinces; the Midre Baharnagash was next in dignity, while Tigré, at present the largest in Habbesh, was only an inconsiderable district. Every petty governor, or shûm, was obliged to collect the men of his division, and lead them, at the end of the summer rains, to join the king. As the court wintered in Shoa, a province bordering on the Mahometans of Adel, the northern counties of Woggara, Siré, Serawé, Tigré, and Midrebahar, furnished the remotest divisions of the royal army.

The forces or militia of a district were called tchewa, or shewa, soldiers, but oftener zamatch, or, in the plural, azimatch, campaigners, people for an expedition, from zamat, which signifies to make a campaign. The governor of each province raised these on command, and led them to the gate of the king's enclosure, around his tents, which is called, in Amharic, dadje *. He uncovered his body down to the waist, and there prostrated himself on the ground, at a great distance, repeating it, till he was conducted into the royal presence, to kiss the king's hand, and offer his services, in the humblest manner. By him alone his soldiers had any access to the king, on which account he was called DADJ-AZIMATCH, the gate of the troops; and this word, now commonly pronounced KASMATI, is the modern title of all governors of provinces in Abyssinia.

All the departments of the household, guards, and kingdom, were at one time conducted by a number of officers called Gueta, in the Amharic language, a master. Those who commanded districts were named by their places, such as y-Tigre-meconen, the governor of Tigre; Angot-ras, that of Angot; Bugna-ras, that of Bugna, and so on; but those who commanded the guards (black spearmen of the Shangalla, or of the

* Dad, or dadje, signifies a gate, or door, in general.

Belowé race) were called as follows: Jan-Belowé-ras, the head of the Belowé guards; Jan-darba-ras, the head of the jan-darba, or king's spears, mostly carried by eunuchs; jan-bet-tabâki-ras, the head of the guards of the king's house. The pages, either slaves used in private, or young nobles, whose services were required on public occasions, were all called dakik, or billatenotch, boys or youths. Over these was an officer called the Billatena-gueta, master of the pages, who sometimes had greater or less command, according to circumstances.

All the pages and guards, both horse and foot, with their officers, were divided into *bets*, houses, or companies, which were usually named from the places in the camp or the palace where they had been stationed; and these names have descended to the king's regiments at this day. Thus one regiment is called *Gimja-bet*, because it was stationed at the treasury-house; another, *Werk-sacala*, because placed near the court of justice; a third is called *Ambaselé*, from its having formerly belonged to Ambasel in Amhara, once a state prison of the Ozoros; *Zefan-bet*, the regiment of the banqueting house; and so on, according to the names of the royal apartments.

The Billatāna guēta takakîn, or lesser billatana gueta, was chief of all the household servants; immediately under him was the Hadug ras, the person who governed the hadug, or keepers of the treasury, armoury, royal stores, &c. which were placed in many tents in the field, and in separate apartments in the palace. The revenue, whether paid in cattle, horses, cloth, gold, arms, or any other sort of goods, was called *gibr* *; which the Hadug ras, by his respective officers, received from the shums or kasmatis of provinces, and accounted for to the billatana gueta.

The ozoros, and many bets or companies of the king's domestics, had lands in distant parts of the kingdom, assigned for their support; hence many places occur called Tarsemba, Baaldarba, Gera Wizazir, Kanya Wizazir, &c. which occasion much confusion in describing the country.

Soon after the fall of the empire, the small districts were united, by ambition or royal favour, into great provinces, over which a single kasmati

* By the Mahometans called *miry* or *meery*.

now presides, having full power to raise its forces, collect its revenues, and administer justice as he pleases *. Lands belonging to the church and ozoros are alone exempted from his jurisdiction, and managed by the servants of the proprietors.

The king's judges are called *Azăjes;* they are six in number, having particular departments in the palace. They have a vote in civil, as well as in criminal matters. Every kasmati is also a judge, and was of old obliged to sit in the sacala, to hear causes, whatever might be their nature. In causes of consequence a full council is assembled; in ordinary matters, the sentence of the common azajes is sufficient, but an appeal is open to the king, if desired by the parties.

All the household officer swere formerly created in pairs, one for the right hand, and another for the left. The troops or pages, under their direction, took their station in the camp on their respective sides of the king's tents; and the officers stood on the right and left hand of the king in public.

As the king generally elected a Billetana-gueta-takakin † for the household; so he usually appointed two BAHTWUDEDS, each of whom was his lieutenant-general over half the troops in the kingdom. The word signifies "the only gate," or, "by him alone the gate," as the army had access to the sovereign through the medium of this officer only. The Bahtwuded's office may be filled by a Kasmati, and there are certain lands and distinctions appendages of that honour. In the time of Baeda Mariam both the Bahtwudeds were killed in one day, by the Mahometans of Adel. The office was, therefore, accounted unfortunate; and, in succeeding reigns, a Ras, or Generalissimo, was appointed instead of it, with plenary power over the whole army. The name of Bahtwuded was not, however, abolished; it continues to be given as a title of honour to a favourite governor. Ras Michael, as well as many before his time, united the two offices in the same person.

In a full council of the nation, on business of importance, the king sits in an alcove adjoining to the council room, behind a lattice called *shek-*

* This jurisdiction renders an Abyssinian governor of a province almost equal in power to a feudal baron. In fact the command of provinces is now in that country nearly hereditary.

† See next page for the description of this officer.

shek. An officer, called the Af-negus, or mouth of the king, carries to him the deliberations, and receives his answer. Some of the counsellors have a right to sit; others are obliged to vote standing. The inferior members vote first, rising in gradation to the Ras and the King.

1. The *Shalakas**, that command the principal Bets, or regiments.

2. The *Shalaka* that regulates the troops within the city.

3. The *Lik-magwass*, or master of the king's mule; an office of considerable honour.

4. The *Dedj-azaje*, or judge of the king's gate, who determines the causes of the guards.

5. The *Baal ambel ras* (Palambaras) master of the king's black horse, or cavalry.

6. The *Badjerund of the Lion-house.* It was customary to have four lions accompanying the royal camp in all its movements. The place where they were stationed was near the common prison. The overseer of this has command over the Debria bet haïts, the officers who superintend executions.

7. The *Badjerund of the Zefan bet*, or grand presence chamber, who keeps the crown, and oversees the decoration of the royal apartments. His servants, who are the actors in ceremonies and processions, are called *baal-hege*, *tsashargot*, and *iteagerd.*

8. The *Negade Ras*, head of all the strangers at Gondar, who oversees that part of the revenue arising from the taxes and customs on foreign merchandise; and regulates the Mahometan traders and traffic.

9. and 10. The *Gera azimatch* and *Kanya azimatch*, or *Gerasmati* and *Kanasmati*, two officers, the former for the left, the latter for the right hand. The Kanasmati votes last, as being more honourable than the other. They are the two lieutenants of the Billatana gueta, or master of the household, and command the king's guards under his direction.

10. The *Billatana-gueta Takakin*, grand master of the household servants; commander in chief of the guards; and receiver-general of the revenue, which is collected by the *Hadugs*, under their Ras, from the Shums and Kasmati's in every part of the kingdom.

* Yshah-alaka, captain of a thousand. Amh.—The list is taken from the MS. Annals of Abyssinia, Vol. 4. life of Yasous I.; and Vol. 5. life of Bacuffa.

11. The *Zin-darba Azaje*, or judge of the Eunuchs, who has jurisdiction over the body servants; he has also the controul of those matters which concern all the menial slaves.

12. The *Tarsemba Azaje*, or Debna Wizazer, the judge of the Ozoros or Nobles. He decides affairs relating to privileges and honours, and assigns the reward given to such as have performed actions of distinction. His servants are called *Dimshasha*, from a stripe of red leather they wear around their heads.

13, 14, 15, 16, The *four Azajes*, or king's judges; two on the right, and two on the left. These are the stated bench (umber) in all ordinary causes, ecclesiastical, civil, and criminal. Two of them are called *Gera*, and *Kanya Wust Azaje*, who are the king's attorneys general in criminal prosecutions. These are always the most eminent for experience and discernment.

17, 18. The two *Tsafat Tazazi*, secretaries, who keep the records of the kingdom, and write the annals of their sovereign. The treasury book is called by the Abyssinians, Debdekon, and, by the Mahometans, Deftar.

19. The *Wust Azaje*, or *Rak Masery;* the officer who has the charge of superintending the king's bread, which is prepared for the household, of fine flour from Dembea. The quantity which annually comes to Gondar for that purpose is called the Hatze Kolla, king's food.

20. The *Basha*, an officer introduced by Melec Segued, in imitation of the Turks, with whose customs he was obliged to become acquainted. The function, of the person so called, was to command the Mahometan musqueteers, then introduced into the household troops. He has the rank of Kasmati, or governor; and is usually a gentleman of approved valour, who heads a division of the infantry.

21. The *Tsef-lam* of Damot (register of the cattle). This is the Kasmati; a high officer that commands the Galla, settled there by Yasous the Great. He pretends to the right of chief of all the Tchewa, or militia, which fixes his place in the grand council of the kingdom.

22. *Gojam-Nagash* (the Kasmati of Gojam), who claims the hereditary right of Melak Melakat, general of the king's generals, in consequence of which he holds this rank.

23. *Tzeflam Amhara;* the Kasmati of Amhara, who pretends that he is Beter-yarche, a patriarch; by which is meant, in Habbesh, a leading ecclesiastic, or chief man of any kind.

24. *Begemder Dadj-azimatch*, the Kasmati of Begemder, who sits in this rank, in right of his being Lik-cahenat za Warwar, chief of the clergy of Warwar, in that province.

25. *Samen-agafara*, the Governor of Samen, who takes place of the foregoing, because he was allowed to sit before Alem Segued, or Facilidas. That king was Kasmati of Samen when he came to the crown, and bestowed this honour on his province and successors.

26. *Tigre-Maconen*, the Governor of Tigre. He sits in the king's presence, in right of his being Nebr-ad of Axum, or keeper of the book of the law; an office derived from the fabulous history of Menilec. He drinks out of a golden cup.

27. The *Acab Saat*, keeper of the Hour, the highest ecclesiastical dignity in Abyssinia. The Abuna, though nominally the head of the church, is the mere pageant of this priest, who intrigues at court, and leads the secular clergy in the same way that the Itchegue, to be mentioned hereafter, does the regular.

28. The *Billatana-gueta Talalac*, the lieutenant-general of the Ras, or Betwuded, who, under him, commands the troops of the whole kingdom. He is generally nominated by the Ras, and then confirmed by the king.

29. The *Ras or Betwuded**. There were formerly two Betwudeds; one on the right, and one on the left, who were always governors of the best provinces in the kingdom. At present, it is usual to appoint, at pleasure, the governor of Amhara, Gojam, Damot, or Begemder, Betwuded, who takes his place next to the Ras, in consequence of his title. The Ras, as in Michael's time, often unites both offices in his own person, along with the government of a principal province. But whoever is Betwuded, the Ras is his superior, and can order him to appear with his army when he pleases. The three dignities of Tigre-maconen, Betwuded, and Ras, made Michael Suhûl the greatest subject in Abyssinia.

* Written Bahtwuded, or Betwuded, and pronounced Betudet.

The KING, who gives his vote last of all, by the Af-negus, from behind the Shekshek, and is swayed, in general, by the majority of his council.

Such is the order and list of the Abyssinian Council, as established at this day. But there are many governors of provinces, which are now lost to the Galla and Mahometans, whose names are found in history; and there are several who govern rich districts, that have no vote in council.

Angot, Bugna, Gedm, Dawaro, Bali, Gan, Ifat, Marrabet, Fatigar, Wedje, Gumar, Bahar-gamo, Suf-gamo, Buzama, Cambat, or Hadea, Gombo, Ganz, Mugar, Gurague, Gafat, Narea, Shat, Zet, Contsh, and Bizamo, were once all subject to Habbesh. The titles of some of the governors were the Angot-ras, Bugna-ras, Dawaro-Grade, (the people Mahometans,) Gan-shum, Ifat Walasma, Fatigar-asgua, Gedma-katen, Gurague-shum, Gafat-shum, Cambat, or Hadea Nagash, and Narea-nagash, who to this day maintains a kind of alliance with Abyssinia. These provinces were the scene of the greatest exploits and final disgrace of the Abyssinian name. The court, in those times, resided in Shoa; the Tseflam of which, Amha-Yasous, has now rendered himself nearly independent, and has no seat in the council. Guragué and Gafat are still in subjection to the governor of Damot, who commands the Eleman and Densa Galla, and the other inhabitants of these regions. Walaka, a province between Shoa and Amhara, is filled with the Woolo Galla, by the connivance of the Shoa-tseflam.

The governor of Dembea is called *Cantiba;* and it is an appanage of the king, or Ras's *Fitaurari,* an officer to be mentioned afterwards. *Kuara,* to the west of the lake of Dembea, and *Walkayt* and *Tsegadé,* to the north of it, have governors, with the title of Kasmati and Nagareets, (kettle-drums,) the insignia of every separate province; but these Kasmatis have no vote in the council of the nation.

There is an officer who superintends the revenues of Agow-midre, called *Agow-miziker,* recorder of the Agows; and another, who manages the affairs of Maitsha, the country of the Djawi Galla, whose title is *Ibaba-azaje.*

Having reckoned up the principal men in office, in the Abyssinian government, it may be proper to add, that the general name for the go-

vernors of provinces is *Meconen*, or judges, all of them possessing judicial powers; that of the officers, who have command, but not jurisdiction, is *licaonte*, chiefs or leaders. The superiors of the churches, the Itchegue, or grand-prior of the monks, the Acab Saat, Kes-hatze, and the ordinary judges, with all the great officers of the palace, are included under the latter denomination.

The superior of the clergy, belonging to a particular church, is called *Alaka;* he is appointed by the crown. The head of the king's own clergy, who used to attend him in the field, and have their church or tent erected near his enclosure in the camp, is called *Lik-debtera.* The Abuna formerly attended the king in his campaigns; and claimed a considerable share of jurisdiction, in matters regarding the lands and vassals of the church, as well as in affairs of religion. Now, however, his power is closely restricted to cases which are provided for by the written laws of the church; and the king makes his Hadug-ras keep a person in the house of the primate to levy a tribute on his revenues.

The ceremonies performed at the creation of Abyssinian great officers are singular, and throw considerable light on the national character. Before the war of Adel, and the division of the empire in the reign of David III. all was splendour and ceremony. Gold, wrought into chains, cups, and other articles of use and luxury, was every where common; the finest brocades, silk, and cotton cloths, were worn by the king's servants; the apartments in the palace and camp were ornamented with the most precious metals, and with beds of state, called menstaffs; they were hung with the richest Indian stuffs, and paved with the finest carpets of Persia. All the great officers of the crown ate out of vessels of gold and silver; and most of their furniture displayed the utmost height of barbaric pomp.

A *Kasmati* (governor) is made in public generally at the Adebebaye, or market-place of Gondar. The servants of the king, under the direction of the Badjerund of the Zeffanbet, put around his head the Ras Werk, a circle of gold, and clothe him with the Kaftan, a white robe, sometimes lined with blue. The Abyssinian MS. mentions another gift, by the words sinomu mai, the meaning of which is uncertain, but seems to be a pitcher for water. One of the people employed in the ceremony

then proclaims him, in the following manner: "Hear, hear, hear! We make our servant *** Kasmati of ——." The kettle-drums immediately beat; the trumpets are sounded; those who are present raise loud shouts of congratulation. He is then mounted on a horse of the king's, splendidly caparisoned, and rides to the outer gate of the palace, where, alighting, he is admitted into the presence-chamber; and, after having prostrated himself on the ground, kisses the king's hand. He is conducted out with sendic, nagareet, and nesserkano; that is, with the royal standard flying before him, and the drums and music above mentioned.

The Basha is also invested with the Ras Werk and Kaftan. He receives gold chains for his legs and arms, called amber werk and zinar, with a gold-hilted sword, and a shasha, a kind of turban, wound about his head. He is presented to the king on the throne, and allowed to sit at the foot of it, with carpets spread under his feet. He is there served with drink in a golden cup; after which, he is conducted by all the nobles and army at Gondar, in full procession, to the house allotted to his office. The musqueteers, with sendic, nagareet, and nesserkano, fire repeated peals of musquetry; and the rejoicing in this, as indeed in all cases of that nature, is noisy, and riotous beyond description.

All the great officers are invested in this manner, differing, however, in the degree of honour which is paid to their respective ranks. The tenor of the proclamation is the same. It is the perpetual custom of the king, to bestow new robes and other articles of dress, not on the nobility alone, but on every person in his court or army, who has performed any action of note. A quantity of provisions from the palace is also bestowed at the same time. These customs are all of Persian origin.

This introduction may be properly concluded with a description of the arrangement of the camp, in the better days of the monarchy, which still coutinues to be imitated in modern times. The sovereigns of Habbesh were generally, during the nine fair months of the year, in the field, engaged in war with the Mahometans, Galla, or other tribes on the frontiers of the kingdom. Long practice made encampment an easy regular matter; every part of the army knew its particular station; when the

king's tent was pitched, the places of all the rest were relatively determined. In an expedition, it was usual for the king to carry his wives, household-servants, clergy, and treasures, along with him. These are mentioned together, because they were all exceedingly numerous, and formed a proportionable incumbrance to the march, which was very slow, at the rate of 10 or 14 miles a-day.

An officer, called the *Fit-aurari**, always precedes an Abyssinian army. He is attended by a party of horse, or light-armed foot, who keep at the distance of two or three miles before the main body, and give intelligence of the approach of an enemy, and of the state of the country, wherever they advance. The choice of the ground for encamping is entrusted to him; in which he is guided by the circumstances of water, level, wood, and similar advantages. When these are convenient, he pitches a flag on the spot designed for the king, and measures out the ground for the inclosure of his tents. In a short time the servants come up, and erect them with great expedition; while the Billatena-gueta takakin, or master of the household, superintends the work. The greater Billetana-gueta, and the Palambaras, next assign the usual stations to the horse and foot, on the right hand or the left, behind the royal inclosure.

The whole camp is called *cattama;* and when extended in the manner that was usually done, on continuing long in one place, it occupied a space of several miles in circumference. The king's tents, five or six in number, were placed on a little eminence, on the east side of it; the doors of them being always towards the east. The name of the place in which they stood was called margàf, which was surrounded with long pallisades, hung with chequered curtains, named *mantalot*, that completely hid the tents from the army without. In this inclosure (megardj) were twelve doors, or entrances, occupied by the guards, the principal of which looked to the east. It was known and determined at which of these certain persons should enter; for instance, the cooks at one door, the Betwudets at another, the clergy at a third, and so on, throughout the whole number. The principal gate was called the wudunsha dadje;

* Front of the host.

the names of the rest were the sargwan dadje, shalemat dadje, megardja dadje, mebleâ dadje, baaltihat dadj; which were double, one of each name on the right, and another on the left, of the principal entrance.

On the right side of the inclosure, without the gates, stood the tents of the Iteghe, or queen, with those of the ozoros and ladies of the court. When the Negus had a number of wives, it was usual to divide them into tents on each side of the inclosure, which were called the gera and kanya baal tît, ladies apartments of the right and left. These were served by great numbers of eunuchs and female slaves, called melmel. On the left of the inclosure was the royal kitchen, with the tents of the cooks, (abi tsergui godana;) which were, however, often placed on both sides. Then the Billetenagetas talak, and takakin, the Badjerunds, the Tarsemba dimshasha, the Basha, and the Mecuonen, or noblemen, governors, &c. arranged their tents behind on the left side, as the two billatenas pointed out, till they reached what is called the gera phires dehrawi, or rear of the horse stationed on the left. In that rear were the tents of the Rakmasery, and before these, nearer the king's, were the tents of the darba-bet, or body guards, while not on duty. In what was called the left koulef, or inclosure, pitched the Gerasmati, with the large korban, or room for keeping the furniture of the church of Mary of Sion, which stood on his right hand, along with the tents of its debtera, or clergy. These were arranged in a line along the interior flank of the horse stationed on the left, reaching to the fit phires zagéra, or front of the cavalry, a large space at the west end of the camp. On the exterior flank of these horse, towards the north, the Betwudet, that commanded the troops of Begemder, or rather half the forces of Ethiopia, encamped his men all around the cavalry, from the king's tents to the *fit phires*, or west end of the camp. In the left fit phires, encamped the Palambaras, as being master of the horse; and before him, nearer the east, the aisnafo dimshasha, or master of the mules. The azajes and licaonte of the left hand had their station near the church of St Mary, to the eastward of the master of the mules, where was also that of the Acab saat. Between the church and the station of the Palambaras were the abodes and shops of the lower orders, that served the army with provisions, hydromel, and similar articles of use and luxury. Great numbers of common wo-

men, artists, and idle people, had their respective places in this quarter of the camp, both on the right and left.

On the right side, behind the Iteghé, and also on her right hand, encamped the Wizazir, or branches of the royal family, viz. all the sons of the king allowed to reside in the camp; and such noblemen as were descended from the royal family by ozoros, or daughters; occupying from the Iteghé, or queen's tents, to the rear of the right hand horse. In the right koulef pitched the Kanasmati, with the large korban, or room, for keeping the furniture of the church of Baalmaskal, or the cross, which stood on his right hand with the numerous tents of its debtera, or clergy. These were pitched along the interior flank of the right hand cavalry to its fit phires, or front, a large space so called on the west side of the camp. On its exterior flank, all around on the south side, encamped the Betwudet, that governed *Gojam*, with half the troops of the empire. In the fit phires of the right hand were a body of horse, armed in the Turkish manner; to the eastward of which were the lower orders as on the other side. The azajes and licaonte of the right, with the Abuna and his clergy, had their station near the church of the holy cross.

In this arrangement of the camp, an equal distribution of the nobles and troops was made to the right hand and the left behind the king's inclosure. None of the tents projected before the royal station; but a large empty space was reserved in front of it, not to be entered by any without positive orders. About two shots of a cross-bow from the eastern gate of the king's inclosure was the Saccala, a large square tent, with 12 low iron seats, six on the one side, and six on the other of a large one, breast high, which represented that of the king. Alvarez asserts, that the judges did not sit on these, but on the grass, to hear the causes before them. In the reign of David, the Betwudets were the chief judges in the Saccala, and carried the opinion of the rest to the dadje, or king's gate, whence the concluding sentence was given from behind the curtains. At present, the council is seldom full; and the judges stand at a table, in the direction of the right and left side of the empty chair at the head of it. The king's vote is brought by the Af-negus from an adjacent alcove.

When the judges were assembled in the Saccala, before they proceeded to business, they began with a prayer, or hymn, said to be composed by Jared, the Abuna, under Gebramascal, about A. D. 560. After pronouncing often, in a solemn tone, and after long pauses, the word Hallelujia, they chaunted these sentences:—

"From the day of vengeance, from the day of doom,
How shall the soul escape?
When the mother cannot save her child, and the earth shall surrender her prisoners,
How shall the soul escape?
When the Father shall put on the robe of retribution, and clothe himself with the garment of vengeance,
How shall the soul escape?
When the assembly shall accuse us with terrors, when our deeds shall be opened, and spread out, and all that we have done shall be read,
How shall the soul escape?
When our Lord shall sit on the Mount of Olives, on the day of the Sabbath, and all his disciples beside him; what shall annoy the people, when he shall have mercy on the poor, and on him who has done right?"

The prayer is repeated thrice by all the Azajes, who join with the Serach Massery in this preliminary formula. They then hear a kind of practical explanation of it from the same officer; after which they proceed to business. The Betwudet, or Ras, has a right to judge sitting; his lieutenant, the Billatena gueta talalac, stands. In modern times, the great officers (Meconen) seldom appear in the Saccala, where the common Azaje and Umber, with a few of the Licaonte, administer justice under the controul of the king. Absolutely dependant on him for subsistence, liberty, and life, no judges in the world are more subject to the will of the monarch.

At a considerable distance beyond the Saccala, on the right and left of it, were the two prisons (Menges-bet), in which the accused were

kept in chains, and guarded according to the importance of the crimes with which they were charged. Near these tents, but further to the east, were those of the two Betwudets, or chief justices, on the right and left hand, having a church between them appropriated to the judge. Eastward of the church were chained four lions, in a place called Anbasa-bet, which were constantly led along when the king marched. These were a very antient part of the retinue of the sovereigns of Axum, where they were kept in the days of Cosmas Indoplaustes; and the place of the Anbasa-bet is still distinguished in the ruins of that city. That the lion has long been accounted a symbol of power, is generally known; the custom mentioned here, and the names of Anbasa Wudem, Wanag Segued, &c. shew how much the opinion was prevalent in Ethiopia. The royal standard of Abyssinia displays the lion of the tribe of Judah, to indicate the descent of its kings from David; a fiction by which the clergy flattered the vanity of the monarch, and preserved a relic of a custom older than the æra of Christianity.

Far beyond the lions, but still in front of the king's tents, was a church, and a gabeia, or market place, appropriated to Christians, who sold there all kinds of provisions. In this they observed the distinction between clean and unclean beasts; a part of the Jewish law, which is still scrupulously retained in Habbesh. All Mahometans and Infidels were excluded from this market; having a separate one for themselves, under the inspection of the Negadé Râs. Though the greatest and wealthiest merchants in the kingdom, they have no domestic intercourse with the Christians at this day; they live at Gondar, in the lower town, which was assigned them by Facilidas and Hannes I.; and eating or drinking with them, or of any thing which they have prepared, is reckoned equal to a renunciation of Christianity.

Such was the form of the camp in the time of David III. and his grandson Melec Segued. At this day they follow the plan of former ages, as far as occasion requires; though the whole forces and nobles of Habbesh seldom meet in one encampment. The towns were originally standing camps, having cottages raised of earth and canes to shelter the army from the rains in the wet season. The respective parts of a camp were long visible in Gondar, which was chosen by Facilidas for the

winter station of his court. Claudius is said to have first erected a medin *, or fixed residence, to which he was invited by the beauties of European architecture, contrary to the will of his subjects, who considered the perpetual movement of the camp as the greatest defence against their bararous invaders. Jacob resided at Coga; Susneus at Dancaz and Gorgora. Facilidas deserted the palace of his father, and built a house at Gondar; rendering by this Coga and Dancaz so obscure, that they are not noticed in Mr Bruce's map. Hannes and Yasous Tallak both continued in the same place, which consequently became the residence of much people, and at last the capital of the whole kingdom *.

No. XLV.

PART I.

Particular account of the Ethiopic MSS. from which Mr Bruce composed the History of Abyssinia, inserted in his Travels.

1. The chronicle of a reign, written by the king's official historiographer, contains all the remarkable transactions at court during every day in the month throughout the whole year. Each month begins

* MS. Annal. Abyss. Vol. II. life of Claud.

† For the order of the camp in the time of David, see Viaggio nella Ethiop. di Don F. Alvarez. in Ramusio's Collect. cap. 120—128.; and Ethiop. MS. pref. to the Chronicle, which, along with detached hints in the Annals, proves that it is still observed. On the household, see MS. pref. to the Chronicle; the MS. appendix to the lives of Baeda Mariam, and Iscander; the lives of the kings in the MS. Annals, passim; and Ludolf's Ethiopic history and dictionaries. E.

a new paragraph; the name of it is generally written with red ink; a favourite ornament of the scribes. The first Abyssinian month begins on the 29th August, old style; and the division of the year coincides exactly with that of the Egyptians. The names of the months are not derived from any known language. They are, 1. Mascaram; 2. Tekemt; 3. Hedar; 4. Tahsas; 5. Ter; 6. Yacâtit; 7. Magâbit; 8. Miyazia; 9. Genbot; 10. Sené; 11. Hamlé; 12. Nahassé. A very useful Abyssinian calendar was composed by Ludolf, from a martyrology in his possession, in which he also points out the most remarkable days, and festivals observed in Ethiopia; but, after all his skilful attention, it is still far from being complete. Mr Bruce brought home a slip of parchment, containing the names of the saints commemorated in Habbesh during the first fifteen days of Mascaram. These are, at a medium, about six for each day, the principal of whom have their legends inserted in the Synaxar. It appears that most of the fables, recorded in that book, are translations from the Greek or Coptic, the originals of which were composed in Egypt.

A week is called in Habbesh *subae*, equal to the Latin septimana; a month, from its being lunar, *werh;* a day, *amira* or *elet*. The days of the week are named by their number; ehud, the first, or Sanbat, the Sabbath; sanui, the second, Monday; salus, Tuesday; rebua, Wednesday; hamus, Thursday; areb, Friday; sanbat kedimat, the old (or Jewish) Sabbath, Saturday.

The Abyssinian vulgar era is the amt alem, or year of the world; but the number of years from that event to the reign of Teclahaimanout, 1769, is variously reckoned. During the period in which the Jesuits flourished in Ethopia, the European calculation was adopted; and the Latin names of the months, the year of Christ, and several other vestiges of the intercourse with the west, are found in the histories of David, Claudius, and Susneus.

The method in which Mr Bruce computed the reigns of the kings, was the ordinary one of subtracting from the year 1769 the years of the reign of Joas as found in the Annals; then from the remainder that of Yasous; and so on, back to Amda Sion. The years mentioned by the Jesuits, from the time of the first Portuguese embassy till their own expulsion,

served to correct those in the national MSS. The days of the week are literally translated from the Ethiopic; and those of the month are valued by the corresponding day in the Julian computation. The imperfection of these methods must be supplied or understood by the reader: it would require much time and labour to reconcile perfectly the European and Ethiopic dates, which in Mr Bruce's volumes only approximate to the truth*.

Of the facts which are given in the end of Book II. and in the course of Book III. of the Travels, the chronicle of Axum furnishes a very small part. As its reputation in Abyssinia is universally great, and no analysis of its contents has been laid before the public, the reader will find one subjoined in the note†.

* The Abyssinians, in general, reckon 5500 years from the creation to the birth of our Saviour, though in this their writers are not unanimous. The annalists take great pains to state the year of the world, the epact, golden number (matque), and the name of the evangelist for every year, at the beginning of its history. Every four years are marked with the names of the four evangelists, from a particular arrangement in the service-book of the church. Other eras are mentioned occasionally; as the Era of Mercy (amt maharat), which commenced at the coming of Abba Salama, a few years before the birth of Zera Jacob. The Appendix to the book of Axum gives the principal dates of Ethiopic history according to this era, but so inaccurately, as to destroy all confidence in the account. The Ethiopic scribes are so careless in their computations, and in the transcription of their numeral characters, that no dependence can be had on any statements which they give to their readers, unconnected with proofs.

† The Kebir Zaneguste, or Glory of the Kings, is a treatise which professes to establish the Ethiopic monarchy on the basis of divine right. It was written "to shew forth the glory of Rome and Ethiopia," two nations which are said to divide between them the sovereignty of the world, in direct inheritance from Adam.

Of this treatise Mr Bruce brought two copies from Gondar, one written in an older hand, divided into chapters, containing an Appendix on Abyssinian history and customs; and another, beautifully, but more incorrectly, written, without sections, and probably a transcript made for him while residing in that city. The former of these consists of 106 leaves, of which 18 are on the affairs of Abyssinia, distinct from the principal work, and five on the history of David III. The latter is written in a larger character, and occupies 136 folia. The size of both is quarto, nearly square, on yellow Abyssinian parchment, the sheets of which, about a foot in length and breadth, are called by the natives Brané.

The oldest copy appears to have been a present to Mr Bruce from Ras Michael, the celebrated governor of Tigré. It is ornamented at the beginning with a beautiful drawing of an

The appendix to this book is the only portion of it which is purely historical. It begins with a description of the church of Axum, founded by Abreha and Atsbeha. Then follows a long account of the coronation of the kings, as given by Mr Bruce in the life of Socinios, which

eagle in flight, holding in his beak and talons a scroll, which seems to have been executed by Mr Bruce or his assistant.

The treatise begins with the usual doxology to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and a profession of faith in the Trinity, as defined by the 318 orthodox of the council of Nice. The writer then testifies his belief in the great and glorious *Ark of Sion*, and of the Law, devised and made in the Council of Heaven, before all created things, angels or men. After the formation of this (Tabot Hege), or Ark of the Law, and the creation and fall of the angels, the Trinity is asserted to have formed man, as a punishment on Satan and his followers. The Father said to the Son and Holy Spirit, Let us make man in our own image. The Son said, I will clothe Adam with flesh. The Spirit said, I will dwell in the breast of the prophets and saints. These transactions are proved by a passage from David, "Re-"member thy dwelling-place of old, created for a safety, by the law of thy kingdom, in "Mount Sion." The object of this chapter is, to shew that God created the Ark of Sion before all things, with a view to deliver it to man as a pledge of the divine law, and as a symbol of dominion over the whole earth.

The title of chapter 2d is, "On the great monarchy." Let us give an account of who is great and who is small (says the writer) amongst the kings of the earth. He then mentions how Gregorius Thaumaturgos (in Ethiop. Gebare Menker), having been thrown into a dungeon for fifteen years by a Pagan king, began to ruminate on the idle pomp of the infidel, whose confidence was placed in armies, chariots, and cities, and to compare it with the true dominion which God had given to the first man, and through him to the holy patriarchs. Gregory, now introduced as a speaker, (chap. 3.) relates, in a prolix, romancing way, the investiture of Adam in the empire of the earth by his Maker. He then proceeds to tell how Adam disinherited his first born son, because he was a sour, ill-looking infant, and conferred his kingdom on Abel for contrary reasons, which occasioned envy between the brothers, and the death of one of them. Seth is appointed by Adam to the vacant inheritance; and much oratory is employed in describing (chap. 6.) the sin of Cain, and the impiety of his race. All the vices of warm climates are ascribed to these degenerate mortals, who abandoned prayers, petitions, and thanksgivings, for inordinate eating, drinking, dancing, and music of all kinds; with other excesses, in which they vied with the horse, the ass, and the mule. A list is given of the patriarch kings, of the just line, from Seth to Noah, which introduces a description of the flood, and of the destruction of all flesh, excepting one family. Of these accounts, which are sufficiently minute, the Scripture is the basis; but the narrative is of the rabbinical kind, in a pompous style, and always collecting a mist of fable on every particular, through which it appears distorted and ridiculous. A bare translation of the titles

is abridged by all the annalists who treat of these matters. After this come two lists of the officers whom Solomon sent, along with Menilec, to his maternal kingdom of Saba; both very confused. The fourth section contains a catalogue of the kings of Axum, from Arwé, who reigned 400

of the chapters, a little extended, is all that the performance merits after this introduction. They are as follows: Ch. 9. On the Covenant of Noe. 10. On Sion: here the story of the celestial ark is resumed. 11. On the meeting of the 318 Orthodox at Nice, and their Council, formed to promote the purity of the faith. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Give a narrative of the wickedness of Canaan; the history of Abraham and his covenant; with the lives of Isaac, Jacob, and Robel, his incestuous son. The deeds of Canaan and Robel are recorded to account for their having been deprived of a share in the divine sovereignty of their family. 17. God delivers the heavenly ark to Moses on the mount. 18. Relates the meeting of the 318 bishops (likan papasat), at which (c. 19 and 20) Damatius, the Roman bishop, stood up, and said he had found a book on the division of the world in the church of Sophia. In this volume it was recorded, that the earth was divided between the king of Rome and the king of Ethiopia, because they were both descended from Shem, the lineal successor of Noah by his own nomination. Out of the book he proceeds to establish the claims of Ethiopia, observing, that Menilec, the eldest son of Solomon by Maqueda queen of Sheba, had founded that monarchy; and had been approved of God, so far as to get possession of the Ark of Sion, which was made in heaven, but was kept at his birth in the temple of Jerusalem. 21. Begins with an account of the beauty, riches, and wisdom, of the queen, and of her commerce with western Asia and India. Tameran, her principal merchant, (c. 22.) becomes acquainted with the king of Judea, then intent on collecting gold for the Temple. This trader enters Judea, (c. 23.) and brings back such a flattering account of Solomon, as induces (c. 24.) the queen to undertake a journey to see him. She arrives at Jerusalem (c. 25.) and converses (ch. 26.) with the king, who solves and proposes some riddles for her instruction; namely, a few enigmatical stories, invented by the Jewish rabbins and Arabs. Ch. 28. She is astonished at his wisdom, and, in consequence of this admiration, obtains more of his royal bounty than he had hitherto bestowed on any of his foreign allies. Ch. 29. The 318 fathers continue the history, and proceed (c. 30.) to relate, how the king swore to her to make her child, if she should have one, the heir of his kingdom. Ch. 31. The king gives her his ring, and dismisses her to her own country, where she bore Menilec, the prince of Israel and Ethiopia. Ch. 33, 34, 35. Menilec grew up, and by Tameran, began a correspondence with his father, who invited him to Jerusalem, where he met and conversed with him. The king (cc. 38, 39, 40, 41.) put the youth of his realm under the command of his son, made him be anointed by Zadoc the high priest, and crowned, by the name of David his grandfather. As the prince had shewn no inclination to rule over Judea, Solomon prepared to dismiss him to Saba, with the sons of the first families in Jerusalem, as his retinue and household. He gave him (c. 41 and 42.) his blessing, the two

years, to Maqueda, queen of Azeb, who visited Solomon in the fourth year of his reign. She reigned after that visit 25 years. Ebn Hakim, or Wareza, i. e. the youth or prince, governed Ethiopia after his mother's resignation, about half a century.

tables of the law, and the choice of the Jewish youth, much against the will of their parents. A list of their names, given in the two copies, illustrates, as much as any other particular, the carelessness of the Ethiopic scribes, the only men of learning in their country, and the gross ignorance of the clergy, who are not able to discern the absurdity of this story. Only a few of the names coincide exactly in the two copies, though they are all corrupted from one source. They are all taken, not from the Hebrew, as in a book really so ancient would have been credible, but from the Greek. For instance; Azarias, the son of Zadoc, went as lik cohenat, or high-priest; Ermias, or Elias, son of Arami, or Arani, and grandson of Nathan the prophet, as lik diaconat, or chief of the deacons; and Somonias, son of Abita, or Ab talam, as lam miziker, register of the cattle. The rest, to the number of twelve or thirteen in all, have a similar appearance.

Chapters 44 and 45 describe the lamentation of the Jewish nobility on parting with their children, and the good advice and blessings they bestowed on them. The young priest, Azarias, had, in the mean time, formed a design (c. 46.) of taking along with him the celestial Ark of the Covenant. This he secretly communicated to a few of his friends, in particular to the chief of the deacons. Zadoc, the high priest, being absent, his son (c. 47.) offered up a sacrifice in the Temple for himself and the young king, and, having obtained from heaven approbation of his conduct, stole the palladium of the monarchy of Adam. The ark was committed to the priests in his train, and the whole company (c. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.) having received the blessings of their parents, set out for Ethiopia, by the way of Egypt, in winged chariots, which the Lord enabled to perform a journey of thirteen days in one. The Ethiopians (c. 54, 55.) received their new king and the ark with inexpressible joy; but very different were the feelings of Zadoc, who, discovering that the Glory was departed from the Temple, (c. 56, 57.) informed his master of the loss, in the utmost dismay and consternation. The king (c. 58, 59.) burst into a violent rage, and ordered a pursuit; but some Egyptians, newly arrived at Jerusalem, told him, that the Ethiopic court had been seen, in its passage through Egypt, shining like fire, and flying like the wind, so that all attempts to overtake it would be useless. The whole nation was instantly filled with the most bitter sorrow; the king and high priest rent their clothes. Zadoc, however, (c. 61, 62, 63.) moved with the spirit of prophecy, broke out into strains of consolation, by informing them such was the will of the Lord, who had determined to fix the primogeniture of the house of David on the throne of Ethiopia, and to honour that kingdom with the ark of his sovereignty, the testimony of the divine right of Adam. The Jewish nobles (c. 63.) perceived the hand of the Lord, and acquiesced in this severe dispensation of Providence.

The list of kings who succeeded him is double, and very discordant with itself. The numbers in the dates are as erroneous as the names are fabulous. Abreha and Atsbeha are called Agoula Anbasa, children of the lion. And there is likewise a derangement of the usual order in one of the catalogues, in which Asato, or Goudit, the wicked queen, who polluted and destroyed the churches for 40 years, is put before several princes of that family which she is reported to have deposed. The house of Zagué was probably little related to this Ethiopian Athaliah: it was

Chapters 64, 65, 66, record the subsequent degeneracy of Solomon, who had now entered into a close affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and allowed himself to be led astray by the daughter of that prince. Some time after, he repents of his crimes, and is cheered by a revelation of the coming of Christ. The chapters, from the 68th to the 83d, treat of our Saviour and the Virgin, of the sins of Rehoboam, of Mary the daughter of David, of the king of Rome a descendant from Seth, of the kings of Madian, Babylon, Persia, Moab, of the Allophylae, or Philistines, and the feats of Samson, whose son became king over the latter people. The pretensions of all these nations to a share in the patriarchal monarchy are examined in a fabulous legendary manner. Chapter 84 takes up the history of Menilec, who enters Saba in triumph, and is received by Maqueda with exultation. The queen swears (c. 86, 87.) to deliver up her kingdom to him, having been informed of his coronation at Jerusalem, and, calling the elders of the realm, declares publicly her intention. Azarias (c. 90.) announces a long eulogium on the queen's conduct; the coronation of David is again performed, and the Mosaical law established in Ethiopia. Ch. 93. Resumes the corruption of the Romish kingdom, hinted at in former sections, and the religious and civil prosperity of Ethiopia, which now became the terror of its enemies in every direction. An Ethiopic campaign (c. 94.) is related, and the glory of the king of Ethiopia, as direct heir of line to Shem, triumphantly celebrated. From ch. 96 to 117, the topics are rather miscellaneous—A prophecy respecting Christ—On the numbering of the Israelites—On the rod of Aaron—The fallen Angels—The omnipresence and pre-existence of God—The three arks—The horns of the altar—The faith of Abraham. From c. 106 to 112, entirely a prophecy of the different events in the life of our Saviour. Ch. 113 discusses the favourite topic of the winged chariots of Ethiopia, and some other fabulous sources of the national glory. The work concludes with observations on the kings of Romia and Ethiopia, between whom the world is divided in this manner: "All the globe, north of Jerusalem, belongs to the former, and south of it "to the latter."

Such is the outline of the Kebir Neguste, the Glory of the Kings, usually called the Book or Chronicle of Axum. It pretends to be a translation of a treatise found in the church of St Sophia by Damatius, bishop of Rome, (perhaps Constantinople) and read at the council of Nice!

Christian, and some of its princes eminent for abilities and piety. Mr Bruce has followed the order of the second list, which is that usually transcribed into chronicles.

After Icon Amlac, the order of kings, and the length of their reigns, are clearly determined. A list of these, from him to Tecla-haimanout, the reigning sovereign, is inserted by the scribe, who wrote either for Râs Michael or Mr Bruce. The subject of Axum is resumed, and an account given of the latest coronations which have been performed there. In the 231st year of mercy (Luke's Gospel), Sertza Denghel renewed all the laws and institutions laid down by the ancient kings, his fathers, at the city of Axum, the throne of the kings of Sion. The celestial ark, the first of all created things, entrusted to the patriarchs and Moses, and stolen away from Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, was, according to the legend, kept in the principal church of this city.

Axum was built by the Egyptian Greeks; but no such tradition exists in Abyssinia. The natives ascribe the origin of its ruined structures to Abreha and Atsbeha, whose abilities were aided by the Holy Spirit. As Axum was the first seat of Christianity in this country, its clergy became very rich, through the veneration paid them by its ignorant sovereigns. They still claim many lands around it, as belonging to the church, and exhibit, as rights of these possessions, the grants of ancient kings. These grants are forgeries; but as they run in the legal style of the realm, one or two of them may be mentioned. The form is taken from the verbal proclamation made in all transfers of landed property.

"By the grace of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we El-abreha and Atsbeha, kings of Axum, grant as fiefs (golatana goult) to the chief priest (gabaza) of Axum, Hausta with its bounds, Hambera with its bounds, Forma with its bounds, Amba-hausta with its bounds, Tawdi, Tselalo, Afgume, Seglamen, Madagwed Akeit, not by the kal hatse (king's messenger, or prolocutor), nor by the meconen, or auphari (the governor of the province, and the collector of the revenue), but of ourselves we grant and appoint, we, who found and build up, that it may be a mediation (merah) to us in the kingdom of heaven, and that the fruit of our body may be blessed, which shall sit on the throne of David.

And if any one break or disannul this, let him be accursed by the mouth of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

A second clause grants more territories, and adds the anathema of a curse by the mouth of Petros and Paulos.

Similar grants follow, made by king Anbasa Wudem, Seif Araad, Zera Jacob, and others. One by a lady, probably a queen, runs thus: "I Welleta Mariam grant Phekullit, with its bounds, for the commemoration (taskar) of our Lady Mary (the Virgin) and myself, that this may be to me a mediation in the kingdom of heaven," In one instance, Zera Jacob prohibits any person from bringing lions, horses, mules, or cattle of any kind, into the domains of the priest of Axum. "Not by the kalhatzé or by the meconen," says the king, "but by the voice of my mouth. Whoever breaks or disannuls this, let him be cursed like Arius the infidel, and Simon the sorcerer of Samaria. Amen."

After these, and other grants, follows a confused account of the churches, fountains, and obelisks, found in Axum. The different parts of the palace are mentioned; and several wonderful appearances, which were produced by miracles wrought on the spot. Axum, according to the legend, has been thrice founded; first by Ethiopius, the son of Cush, whose tomb was shewn there till very lately; next by Maqueda, queen of Saba or Azeb, who left her son in possession of it; and, lastly, by Abreha and Atsbeha, in a miraculous and astonishing manner. Before their reign, most part of the ground, occupied by the present city, was covered by a lake. The princes ascended a hill called Debra Mekiada, and prayed to God that he would point out a place where they might raise a dwelling to his name. Our Lord descended, took dust, and sprinkled it where the church now stands. The ground became dry, where he was seen in the form of a fiery pillar, and the print of his feet (literally shoes) is still seen on an adjoining rock.

The next miracle was a convocation, summoned by the Virgin Mary at Mai-kirah, near this city, with a view to confirm the Christian faith. Jared was a celebrated Ethiopic bishop in the days of Constantine, or Gebra Maskal, about the year 535. In order to settle some important points in the faith, the Virgin transported Saint Hieriacus from Bahnesa in Egypt and Saint Lebahawi from Syria, on rainbows, to converse with

Jared. They conferred three days and three nights, after which they retired to their own countries in peace.

The Appendix concludes with a table of the most remarkable events in the Ethiopic history, arranged according to the era of mercy. A miserable catalogue of the Roman emperors, extracted from the dreams of some ignorant monk, shews that the names and empire of the Cæsars are almost totally forgotten in Abyssinia. A list of the Alexandrian patriarchs, down from St Mark to the Turkish conquest of Egypt, and a table of the caliphs from Mahomet to that event, conclude the compilation.

I have entered into a detail of this collection, rather to shew the absolute penury of the Abyssinian history in early times, than on account of any value which the book possesses. A great deal more might have been expected from the clergy, who have possessed the art of writing since the days of their apostle Frumentius. The Kebir Neguste is an absurd performance, worthy to be read only by those holy men, who have allowed all their real ancient history to perish.

Mr Bruce arranged the several MSS. of the modern history of Abyssinia, which he had procured at Gondar, into five volumes, the first of which is the newest copy of the Book of Axum. The second volume is by far more authentic. It is written in a very neat but small hand, on thin parchment, and appears to be about a hundred years old. It contains 93 leaves, of which eleven are on the Adeline war of Amda Sion, seven on the history of Zera Jacob, eight on that of Bæda Mariam, interspersed with some chapters relating to his father: The kings Iscander and Naod are included in these last. After them five very obscure leaves are occupied by an account of the household of the ancient kings. As the Amharic, or court language, is but imperfectly known in Europe, many parts of this narrative are as mysterious as the history of a fete at St James's would be to an Ethiopian little acquainted with English. The first section of it contains the daily bill of fare for the palace, by no means a perspicuous one; but it is easy to discover in it beef, mutton, mustard, bread, and hydromel of various kinds, fowls under the name of dorho, zugara or guinea-hens, bochur or antelopes, &c. &c. with a variety of sauces and seasonings, not omitting pepper, and other ingredients of a less attractive kind. The portions of all the great household divisions

are defined; such as of the Gera rak maseri, arbaa-bet, baal-diho, aisnaf, baalwasha, nesserkano, baaltit or woman-house, and of the pages, and servants of the various bets or companies. The order of encampment, the dresses of the priests who have access to the king, and the ceremonies and regulations observed when he goes to church, follow. Next comes a minute description of the numerous apartments of the royal treasury for money, clothes, arms, and ornaments of state. The gates of the camp are pointed out, and the guards belonging to each; with a description of the Bekel bet, or large establishment, formed in Shoa by Amda Sion for the breeding of mules, that animal being a favourite with the sovereigns and ladies of Abyssinia. The list closes with an enumeration of the officers said to have come from Jerusalem with Ebn Hakim, and of the cities or districts of Habbesh, in the time of Amda Sion. Three leaves more are employed on a rude kind of unintelligible poem on the cities and sovereigns of Ethiopia, and in describing the appanage of the Ozoros of Ambageshen, between the time of Zera Jacob and David III.

The melancholy reign of David, or Libna Denghel, a roll of continual misfortune, occupies only two leaves. There are three copies of it in Mr Bruce's MSS.: this, which is the oldest; another in the Chronicle of Axum; and a third in the Small Chronicle, mentioned in this Appendix in the list of MSS. brought by Mr Bruce from Abyssinia. They are evidently transcripts: the account is not older than the time of Susneus.

Before entering fully on the history of Claudius, a short narrative is given of his reign till the death of Mahomet Gragné. The valour and heresy of the Franks (Franje) from Portugal, with the fall of their captain (Gebtan) Donkestob, so the scribes call Don Christovam de Gama, are equally remembered. Gragne is said to have fallen by a shot from a servant of the king; by which they obscurely mean Peter Leon.

The MS. then assumes a systematical form, and consists of nine kefel, or divisions. The first, in twelve leaves, gives a full account of Claudius, in 95 short maaref, or chapters. This part was finished on Wednesday, 4th Megabit, A. D. 1500; 1240 of the Martyrs; 956 of the Hegira, according to the Ethiopic computation, in the second year of the reign of Adamas Segued, by the grace of the Holy Spirit called Me-

nas. The second division (kefla dagamavi) gives four leaves further on the history of Claudius, and two on that of Menas. Twenty-one leaves, in five sections, relate the annals of Sertza Denghel, or Melec Segued, till his coronation at Axum. The eighth division comprehends five leaves additional history of the same prince, which is finished in the ninth kefel, in eleven folia, being the rest of his transactions from the 24th to the 39th year of his reign.

In this volume there are many curious particulars relating to the monarchy, both in its prosperous and declining state. The monkish historians often give abundance of minute facts, without assigning any cause. Many pages are filled with wild declamatory speeches, full of scripture quotations; in which the reader, expecting to find historical particulars, is completely disappointed. There are not wanting, however, touches of nature's hand, bold enough to excite surprise, or melt the heart. The construction of an oriental language of itself gives a turgid air to these untutored performances, which, however, have sufficient merit to deserve a place beside the chronicles of our own Gothic ages.

The third volume of Mr Bruce's collection begins with the history of Susneus, in 75 leaves, and 99 chapters. It is the best written of all the chronicles; minute, accurate, and interesting. It has supplied the writer of the Travels with the bulk of the incidents of that reign. The character is small and neat; great attention has been bestowed in correcting the errors of the transcriber, and in removing statements of facts, which were either mistaken or obnoxious. The Romish faith is reprobated wherever it is mentioned; but the edifices, with which the Franks ornamented the kingdom, are described with little skill, but with much admiration. The name of Pader Pai is recorded among those artists from India and Portugal, who built the palace and church of Gorgora. The adventures of Susneus, while still a private man, and obliged to skulk in Shoa and the Galla country, are so minutely related, as to give a very lively idea of his distresses, bravery, and enterprising disposition. The volume contains, besides, an epitome of the history of Facilidas, the same as that in the small Chronicle, and the only record of his reign that is preserved, together with the annals of the fifteen years of Hannes I., sufficiently prolix and minute for so uninteresting a subject. The

reign of Facilidas (33 years) is crowded into two leaves; the annals of Hannes occupy 31. Both these are in a more modern hand than the history of Susneus, which is ancient, and probably coeval with the expulsion of the Jesuits.

One of the most curious papers in the MS. is a grant of lands to the celebrated Ras Sela Christos by his brother, and written by the king's order in this Chronicle of his reign. It is found, chap. 76, and runs in the following manner:

" Know this, all who now are, and shall come after us, the writing of the appointment, gift, and perpetual fief, (goult,) which we have granted (goultahana) to our obedient subject (fakadanana) and brother, Sela Christos, in the 21st year and fifth month since the Lord made us king, in the year 1617 since the birth of Christ our Lord, and the 15th of the month Miaizy, while we, Sultan Segued, king of the kings of Ethiopia, were at Ganeta Yasous; for his much labour and toil on account of our kingdom, and fighting often with many pretenders, (waranotch,) and putting them to death; for his fighting many times with the Galla, and all the enemies of our realm that have risen at any time, to the days of his killing Weled Gabriel, the traitor, on account of whose practices many were cut off in several places—Finally, we grant and give to him, to be a possession for ever and ever, (to generation of generation,) the land of Maskal Lahatsa, the land of Ledj-ambra*, the land of Cabasa, the land of Coulitch, the land of Shalenna, the land of Tsimaras, and from Emfras to Karooda—and, for all his good-will, we likewise give him the value of 100 ounces of gold, that we may establish him while we live, and after we are gone, to his end, perpetually. This grant was made while † Sela Christos himself was Betwudet, while Tecla-georgis was Tigre-mechonen; Buco, Tseflam of Damot; Za Christos, Kasmati of Begemder; while Sertsa Christos was Billetanagueta; Habla-selasse Acab-saat; Bersabahel and Lebusa-Christos were Hadug-ras of the right and left; Melca Christos, Wust-azaje; while Zemo, Meluk za melak and

* In Gojam. See Mr Bruce's particular map, where it is spelled Litchambra.

† The list, though not complete, gives a view of the court then at Ganeta-Yasous in Dembea. For the names of the offices, see Appendix, No. XLIV. Part II.

Woldo-tensa were Likan menberit, (judges;) while Azaje Atseko was Lik mameran; Danael Tserage-masery and Azaje Tino *, Tsef-tazazi, or secretary. So was written by the command of the king."

No. XLV.

PART II.

Particular Account of the Ethiopic MSS. from which Mr Bruce composed the History of Abyssinia, inserted in the Travels.

The materials for the life of Facilidas, who reigned 33 years, are contained in two leaves of the MS. Chronicle, No. 5. mentioned in this Appendix, No. XLIII. These exhibit merely an abridgement of the great Chronicle, written by his historiographer, which seems to be now lost. The epitome is minute, and runs in the form of annals, so that the principal events of each year are related.

The history of his son, Hannes I. is preserved, in its original prolix state, in Vol. III. of the Abyssinian MS. Annals, described in No. 7. of the list of books brought from Habbesh by Mr Bruce; vide Appendix, No. XLIII. Hannes reigned 15 years. The humble exploits of his reign occupy 31 leaves, a much larger extent of parchment than they deserve. He was a religious weak prince, entirely under the government of the clergy. His advancement to the throne was accomplished by the policy of Melca Christos, the Billetana gueta talak of the former king;

* Azaje Tino, so called on account of his stature, (Tino, in Galla, signifying little,) was the royal historiographer, and the composer of the MS. life described above, at least of part of it. When Alphonso, the Portugueze patriarch, showed his books at court, this historian exclaimed, "O happy man, that can read all these!" The secretary had been a monk, which induced Alphonso to ask him, If that order took any vows? He answered, The religious were accustomed to prostrate themselves before their superior, promising, in a loud tone, to preserve their chastity, and, in a low voice, adding, "*as long as you preserve yours.*"

who, immediately after the death of Facilidas, seized all the other princes, and sent them to Debra Mutuk, or Wechné. This practice had been long in disuse; and, when renewed, filled the nation with terror. A few months after his coronation, Hannes made his wife, who, like himself, was a bigot, Iteghé. In the same year two Franks (Catholics) were found in the country, who pretended to be Copts sent by the Patriarch of Alexandria; but "the Lord discovered the wolves." One was a layman, and the other a priest, but disguised like his father the devil. They were both executed. Next year a law was passed in full convocation of the king and clergy, ordering the Franks (descendants of the Portuguese) to conform to the established church; and all other sectaries, such as the Mahometans, and Jews, or Falasha, to live separate from the Christians. Another convocation was held in April following, by an order of which all the nonconforming Franks were driven out of the kingdom, by the way of Sennaar.

The flattery bestowed, by the writer, on the king and queen; the little importance of the incidents, and the prolix minuteness of the narrative, make this performance a very characteristic specimen of monkish historiography.

The annals of Yasous Tallak occupy the greater part of the fourth volume of the MSS., which consists of 108 folia or leaves. This was a gallant and warlike prince, whose life well deserved a historian. It was spent in constant wars with the enemies of his country, and in contests with the clergy, who disturbed his whole reign, and abetted the revolt of his son, in consequence of which he was dethroned and murdered. The volume contains the above mentioned number of folia, of which not above 10 relate to his son Teclahaimanout, Tiflis, Oustas the usurper, and David IV. the other kings whose history is bound up with that of Yasous. The annals of Yasous are written on very thick dark coloured parchment, in a strong coarse hand, with blacker ink than is used in any of the preceding volumes. The beginning of each year is distinguished by writing with red ink, according to the Abyssinian practice. This Tarikh, or history, was copied for Mr Bruce by the scribes of Adowa in Tigre

The information given in these annals is minute and extensive. Every remarkable incident, which happened throughout the year, is mention-

ed, particularly in the early part of the king's reign. Less care seems to have been bestowed on the latter part, which was disastrous and sorrowful. The king appears to have been seized with a deep melancholy after the loss of his mistress Ozoro Keduste, which made him altogether careless about life and fame, and so neglectful of public affairs, as to allow every kind of conspiracy to be formed against him with impunity. Yasous reigned about 24 years, the first seventeen of which were recorded by his historiographer Azage Hawariaxos, who, being a soldier as well as an historian, fell in an expedition which the king made against the Galla in Gooderoo. The royal signet was taken from his finger as he lay on the field, and given to one Abba Zawoldo, who succeeded him in his office.

These persons composed the annals of 20 years of the reign of Yasous; but it would seem, from the abrupt manner in which the narrative is broken off in this copy that their original MS. extended no further. The remainder of the history of Yasous is in the hand-writing of another person, who was probably engaged by Mr Bruce to supply the deficiency from other chronicles. The accounts of the 23d and 24th years of Yasous, and of the reigns of Teclahaimanout, Tiflis, Oustas, and David, are indeed exactly the same as those given in the small chronicle, and are undoubtedly extracted from it.

There are, therefore, among Mr Bruce's Ethiopic MSS. two copies of the history of the reigns of these princes; one, in this volume of the annals, and another in the small chronicle. The account is divided into years; and, though evidently an abridgement, is, upon the whole, pretty extensive. It occupies about 10 leaves. The son of Yasous possessed the throne, which he acquired by the murder of his father, only two years and three months. He was crowned at Gondar, Ginbot 1st, A. M. 7198, and assassinated in Agow-midre, Sene 25th 7200. The old king was murdered in the island Tchecla Wunze, Tekemt 5th 7199, or October 1705. Tiflis succeeded to Teclahaimanout; and is said, in the letter of Elias Enoch, and in a list of the kings in the chronicle of Axum, to have reigned three years and three months. The present writer regrets that a paper containing the Abyssinian dates, and an abstract of the history of the reigns of Oustas and David, which he had copied from the MSS., is mislaid, and that he cannot state from

memory the exact periods as given in the annals. It is certain, however, that Tiflis died in Mascaram (September) A. M. 7204: and that Oustas was dethroned in Yacatit (January 30, according to Mr Bruce) A. M. 7208. His reign extended to four years, and nearly five months. David died on the 12th of Ginbot, or 8th of May (not March, as stated by Mr Bruce) 7213, having reigned five years, and about three months, calculated after the Abyssinian manner. This whole period of fourteen years, from the death of Yasous till the accession of Bacuffa, was disorderly beyond conception. The reign of Tiflis was very fatal to the murderers of his brother, particularly to the queen and her faction. Oustas ascended the throne in express violation of the laws of the monarchy, and had nearly established a new line of succession. David, the favourite son of Yasous, had a short and bloody reign, the particulars of which are detailed by Mr Bruce. The MS. history of these reigns is perhaps written in a careless manner, but it is extracted from good authorities.

The fifth volume of Abyssinian MS. Annals contains the history of Bacuffa, Yasous II., Joas, and Ras Michael. It consists of 151 folia; 30 of which are on the history of Bacuffa, 73 on that of Yasous II., six on that of Joas, five on the history of Yasous, bound up by mistake among the annals of his son, and 37 on the history of Ras Michael and Joas united. The narrative ends at the death of Joas, in Ginbot 7261 (May 1769). The annals of Bacuffa were written by his two secretaries, excepting a few of the last chapters, which seem to have been composed after that king's death. The history of Yasous begins with a preface, which gives a long account of his mother's family, her marriage with Bacuffa, the birth of her son, and a list of the Kuaragna, her relations. The rebellion in the minority of Yasous is detailed in a prolix manner, and all the monthly appointments at court during that period of his reign. The history of the year, in which the rebellion took place, occupies 17 folia. The writer appears to have been a monk employed by the queen. It is altogether amusing to observe the simplicity of the pious author. His veneration for the king is unbounded, and perpetually prompting him to illustrate the most trifling actions of his hero by texts of scripture, which give an air of mock dignity to the subject, and have a ridiculous effect on a European reader. Yasous, who was a boy of

seven years of age at his accession, frequently amused himself with hunting in the northern parts of his kingdom. In the eighth year of his reign, when he was 15 years old, he made an excursion to Tcherkin; and, amongst other game, collected a number of apes, which he and his courtiers drove into Gondar, and exhibited in the public square. The historian records this action as follows: "In the eighth year, in the month Yacatit, the king went out to hunt as usual, and found in the way a flock of apes; and he drove them, as a shepherd doth his flock, into Gondar, and put them in the Ashoa*. And they who saw that miracle wondered, and were astonished, and said, We have not heard, nor seen, neither have our fathers told us, a sign or a wonder like this. And all that was done by the strength of the Lord."

In the year 7232 (A. D. 1740), the Iteghe celebrated the consecration of her new church on Debra Tsai with great splendour. It was called Koscam, from a place of that name in Egypt, where the holy family took refuge from the persecution of Herod. The number of burnooses, capas, and sacred vestments of all kinds, bestowed on this church, was very great; the sacred vessels were of the most valuable kind; and nothing omitted which could add to its riches and dignity. Among the books which were given by the queen, it deserves to be noticed, that there were no complete copies of the scriptures. They were given in separate books, or in volumes of three or four books bound up together. The apocryphal writings Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees, &c. were in equal request with the canonical. Numbers of breviaries, hours, missals &c. the works of Chrysostom and Cyrillus, the Constitutions, the Haimanout Abou, the Kebir Neguste, and the like, are mentioned.

A. M. 7235, (1743), died Gerasmati Yasous, the queen's second husband, father of Ozoro Esther, Ozoro Welleta Israel, and Ozoro Altash. His mother, Ozoro Welleta Israel, daughter of Yasous the Great, died Masc. 27, 7232. She was buried in the church of Gzeir Abbo in Tedda, and he in Koscam.

The celebrated campaign against Sennaar was fought in Miaizy 7236. Hamis of Darfoor defeated Ras Welled leoul on the Dender, the 3d Miaizy, (April 1744), and took the picture of the crown of thorns, and all

* Public square or area before the palace.

the rest of the holy trumpery which was carried by the Abyssinian army. Yasous sent Baalomaal Aylo Michael and Gebra Yasous to Gondar to inform the queen and her mother of his safety. He entered the town Miaizy 13th; and, as his historian says, was *reckoned* to have been victorious.

Yasous died Sene 21, 7247, (June 1754). As soon as he had expired, the queen ordered Asaleffi Eshte to call her brother Ras Woldo-leoul, who entered the palace and found the king dead. The consultation of the queen and Ras is told with great prolixity. He asked her, who, of his three sons, Ayto Adigo, Aylo, and Wayo or Joas, son of Ambet Wobi, daughter of Amito, the Woolo Galla, and sister of Lubo and Dule, the king had named his successor? She affirmed, that he said, "I am going to die like my fathers and family, from David till this time. Make my son Joas king; for I love him more than my other two sons, as Jacob loved Joseph, and David loved Jonathan more than Abisha and Joab." Having received this information, they assembled the troops, and reported to them the queen's speech. "Your king who loved you, Yasous Adiam Segued, is dead; he who made his voice be heard like the lightning and thunder over the four corners of the world. Now, consult who shall be king over you." They answered, "What has the king said?" "He said," replied the Ras, "that I shall die, for there is none who liveth and doth not taste death." "We shall be scattered," said we, "as sheep." He concluded, with these words, "Make my son Joas king, as Joiada did Joas, a child of seven years old*."

A minute account of the proclamation follows, and of the oath which the army took to support the young king, and the queen's administration on the *sele quarat rasou*, a picture of our Saviour with the crown of thorns, painted by St Luke.

The Tarikh of Ras Michael, which forms a principal part of the history of the reign of Joas, was transcribed, or perhaps written, for Mr Bruce, at Adowa, by order of Janni, the Ras's deputy-governor. It begins as follows: "We enter on the beginning of the Tarikh of those actions which

* The object of this speech was to introduce a minority, during which the queen might govern as regent. Adigo and Aylo were both sent to Wechné, where they were afterwards murdered by Ras Michael.

wonderful power did by the hand of Suhul Michael, for he was sharp (in Abyssinian, suhûl) in obedience to the king, with two mouths: with the one mouth he brought tribute every year, of gold, silver, gunpowder, and gifts of brocade, couches, and furniture for the palace; with the other mouth, he ate the flesh of the king's enemies, and tore like a lion, and what was left he trampled under foot." The writer, after a long encomium of this kind, enters into a detail of Michael's predatory war against Woldo, Casmati of Enderta, whom he killed in the month of Ter, 7244, (A. D. 1752); then into an account of his promotion at Gondar by Yasous, and of his loyalty till the death of the king. The ornamental parts of this performance are all drawn from Scripture; and, like most clerical historians, particularly those of his own country, the author lays on his colours with a liberal hand. Michael came to Gondar immediately after the death of Yasous, and had all his offices confirmed.

The annals of Joas are written in the same minute manner as the other chronicles. A few dates from them may perhaps illustrate the history in Vol. IV. of the Travels, and the affairs of Abyssinia.

Sene 30th, A. M. 7248, (June 1755), died Ozoro Wobi, mother to Joas. She was buried at Koscam. Being the daughter of a Galla, her son was attached to that nation, which formed a party at court against the Kuaragna, the kindred of the queen; and this circumstance ruined the king.

Tekemt 27th, 7250, died Ozoro Encoi, mother of the Iteghe, at an advanced age. Palambaras Eshte buried her in the church of Salus Kedus, the Holy Trinity. Her great-grandson Joas was then 10 years of age.

Sene 20th, same year, the queen gave orders to have the bodies of Bacuffa and Yasous taken out of the vault in the church of Tecla Haimanout near Gondar, and that of her son to be carried to Koscam. On this occasion she gave a splendid commemoration-feast, which, in Habbesh, is a singular kind of tragi-comedy. The priests and their servants brought out the coffins, and accompanied that of Yasous to the church of Koscam in a long procession, in which they were joined by Ras Welledleoul and all the household troops. The queen and the nobility, both male and female, appeared in public in deep mourning, and uttering shrieks of lamentation. This noisy sorrow pervaded the whole multi-

tude; and the historian says, that the queen wept till she destroyed the beauty of her face. When this paroxysm of national woe was ended, and the ceremony concluded at Koscam, she gave the troops and the people as many cattle, and as much drink, as they were able to finish in the course of the evening. Grief extinguished its thirst in large horns of hydromel and brandy, and recovered its appetite with delicate slices of raw beef. This is not particularly mentioned by the historian; he only hints at the fact, which, to him, was in no respect extraordinary. His words are, that the queen gave to the priests many oxen, sheep, and loaves of bread, much wine and hydromel, and that which makes people drunk (wazayasakara, zaweetu araky), which is *brandy*.

It appears from the annals of this period, that the Kuaragna and the people of Amhara were always at variance. The leader of the Amhariots was Woodage, father of Gusho. Kasmati Eusebius and Eshte, &c. were the most turbulent of the other party. Ras Woodage fought a pitched battle with Eusebius, then Kasmati of Gojam, Tekemt 7251, (1759), in which Woodage was defeated, in consequence of which he lost his province, and was obliged to beg his life of the king and queen at Gondar.

In 7252, the pernicious rise of the Galla at court begins to be apparent. Dule Fasil was, that year, made Tsedjazage, or master of the king's drink, and Lubo, Shalaka of the household Galla. Ras *Woodage* died Tekemt 27th 7252, and *Gusho*, his son, was appointed, in Ter following, Kasmati of Gojam.

In Mascarram 7253, (Sept. 1760), Ayo came from Begemder, and brought along with him his son Ayto Ymariam Barea, who was instantly appointed a Gerasmati. On the 21st of Tekemt, the queen clothed Ayo magnificently, and gave in marriage to his son her daughter Ozoro Esther, (Oct. 1760). This lady had been taken from Netcho of Tcherkin, on account of some disgust at his character. He rebelled soon after. Eusebius, Gueta, Shalaka Lubo, and all the household forces, were sent to drive him from Tcherkin, which they effected with difficulty.

In Tekemt 7254, Brule, the Galla, was made Shalaka of the Lasta troops in the army. The Abuna John, brought from Egypt in the time of Yasous, died this year. The nation wanted a primate till the year

7262, (1770,) when one arrived by way of Jidda, a few months after Mr Bruce entered Habbesh. One Yabo Barea, two years after the death of John, brought a person to Gondar, who pretended to have come from Egypt; but having made an exceptionable profession of his faith, which excited clerical mobs, and much indecent behaviour throughout the kingdom, the court was obliged to banish him and his protectors.

Ter 18th, 7255, (January 1763,) died Kasmati WARAGNA of Damot. This man had great influence among his countrymen the Galla: The disturbances which followed his death must be imputed to the rapacity of the Kuaragna, who grasped at his government, and attempted to exclude his son Fasil.

Dulo, governor of Amhara, having been killed, Yacatit 5th, 7256, (February 1764,) by some Galla, an accident which caused great lamentation in the palace, Lubo was appointed, Masc. 22d, 7257, (September 1764.) Gusho had the best right to that office, but the Galla were now become obnoxiously powerful.

Michael, Kasmati of Tigre, had for several years before this time been at enmity with Ayo and his son Mariam Barea, because they claimed the government of the district of Lasta, which he had formerly held. Romé and Guigarr, two chiefs of that district, refused to pay their tribute to Michael, but preferred to him the governor of Begemder. Enraged at this desertion, he assembled a large army, and marched towards Lasta, in order to attack Mariam Barea, and to recover the crown of Abyssinia from Guangoul, chief of the Galla of Angot. This last purpose was merely a pretext. The crown had been lost near Sennaar in the days of Yasous, and had come by accident into the hand of the Galla; but the recovery of it by force was a sufficient pretence for levying an army, and an ostentatious method of gaining the king's favour. The court, at the request of Mariam Barea, sent a message to Michael, "to come no nearer, nor move from his place, but to stay in Enderta, and collect the tribute." Michael replied, that he did not intend to fight, nor cross the Tacazzé; pretended to be exceedingly loyal, and took an oath, by the archangel Michael, that he would keep his word. He marched into Lasta with great pomp, and received the allegiance (for it could be called nothing else) of all the chieftains of that country. It is remarkable, that these are all called hatsé, or king; a title which, in the low country, is given

to the sovereign alone. Indeed, the king of Lasta, whom Mr Bruce, in the Annals, Vol. V. believes to be a descendant of the ancient family of Zagué, seems to have been only one of these petty monarchs, of whom there is a great number. Michael at last approached Begemder, and drove back Wundu Bewusen, (Powussen,) Mariam Barea's fitaurari. They would have come to a pitched battle, if prudence, and the entreaties of the king's messengers, had not prevailed on Michael to desist for a time. He proceeded on his way south till he arrived in Angot, and received the crown from Guangoul, which he carried to Adowa, the seat of his government, Miaizy 7258, (April 1766.) He remained in Tigre, perpetually engaged in war with his neighbours, till the 17th Tahsas next year, when the king sent orders to him to come to Gondar. Having arrived at Axum, he received further orders to stop till called upon. He did not return to Adowa, but went on a plundering expedition into Serawe.

On the 20th Megabit, 7259, (17th March, 1767,) died Ras Welledleoul, the queen's brother, and by his death the high offices of Ras and Betwudet became vacant.

In the beginning of the year 7260, (September 1767,) the provinces and offices at court were disposed of as follows: Michael Suhul appointed Ras and governor of Tigre, and absolute master of the whole country from Masuah to the borders of Begemder; *Lubo*, governor of Amhara; *Mariam Barea*, Negade-Ras and governor of Begemder; Fasil Waragna, governor of Damot and the Galla; Gusho Ibaba-Azage, Cantiba of Dembea, and governor of Amhara, which last he accepted in place of Lubo, who was made Palambaras; Eusebius, governor of Samen; Eshte, Takakin Billetana-gueta; Kasmati Gueta, Betwudet; Engedan, Fecur Gimba Azaje; Hubna Woldo, Fitaurari to the king, &c.

On the 24th Hedar, 7260, (November 1767,) Michael, being permitted, set out for Gondar with his army, and brought along with him the crown. The Kuaragna, with Eshte at their head, attempted to prevent his entry; but the Galla, who had the ascendant over the king, opposed them, and Michael entered in a more splendid manner than any Abyssinian governor had done before him. He covered the market-place and the entry to the palace with carpets, lavished gold and presents of the

most valuable kind on the king and Galla, but neglected the Kuara party. The king was crowned* with the utmost magnificence.

Ras Michael arrived on the Angrab, near Gondar, on the 23d Tahsas. He kissed the king's hand on the 25th, which was the coronation day. Gueta, with his Kuaragna, attempted to shoot him, but were prevented by the Galla, under Lubo. On the 29th, there was a fray between the Galla and Kuara parties at midnight. In the morning the Ras sent his son from the Betwudet's house, who found the Galla all drawn up in arms at Dippebay†, ready to fight Eshte, Eusebius, Gueta, and their followers. Michael chid both parties severely. On the 16th of Ter, a series of promotions took place under Michael's influence, in which he was appointed Betwudet. Damot was given to Eshte, and Ibaba to Eusebius, with the office of Fitaurari, and both went off to take possession of their places. Lubo and Brule remained at Gondar, the one being Takakin Billetana-gueta, and the other Palambaras. The king, at Michael's request, gave Fasil Waragna his father's lands in Damot; which was so agreeable to the Galla of Maitsha, and so offensive to the Kuaragna, that the Djawa and people of Damot wasted Eshte's lands at Assoa, and Eshte, in return, burnt Fasil's territory as far as Metchakel and the borders of Gojam. Fasil instantly collected his Galla from every quarter, and proceeded towards Dingleber to engage Eshte, who was joined by his brother Eusebius from Ibaba, and encamped in Goutta. The fatal battle in which Eshte fell was fought there on the 12th of Megabit, 7260, (February 1768.) Eusebius, who had been engaged with the Amoro Galla, fled by the way of Dara, and escaped to his own country, where he died of heart-break, and was buried in the church of Mahabar Selasse. Damot and Ibaba were instantly bestowed on Fasil and his dependant, Hubna Woldo.

As soon as Mariam Barea heard of the death of Eshte, and the destruction of his friends, he sent a message to Lubo, to ask him why he had bestowed the dignities of Ras and Betwudet on Michael, while he knew that he was at enmity with him. He desired Lubo to depose him, and to assume these offices which better became himself, as he was Ab

* The crown having been lost, that ceremony had not taken place before this period.

† The square before the palace.

Negus, or *father* of the king. Michael flew into a passion, and demanded that Mariam Barea should appear instantly to plead his cause before the judges; which that nobleman, after repeated messages, refused to do. Brule was therefore proclaimed governor of Begemder, and Mariam Barea a traitor. On the 11th Sene (June 1768), Brule and the royal army forced Mariam Barea to a battle, in which the new governor and many of his troops fell. The royal army returned to Gondar in a kind of disgrace, and hostilities were suspended till the rainy season was over.

A violent small-pox desolated the country during the rainy season, and for some time after. The great expedition, in which all the forces in the kingdom, except those of Begemder, marched against Mariam Barea, began Tachsas 13th 7261 (Dec. 1768). Fasil and his Galla, along with Lubo, headed their countrymen. They proposed to leave Michael to guard the city; but he replied, "Why should I be left behind? it is my affair likewise." When the army came in sight of Mariam Barea's forces, Michael said to Fasil and Lubo, "Go you, and fight with him." They disputed together who should begin the attack, and shewed syptoms of fear. "Guard you the king then," said the Ras, "I will go foremost, as my custom is." He ordered, at midnight between the 29th and 30th of Tahsas, "his brother's and sister's sons, his boys bred up to victory, who swallowed their enemies like meat," to surprise the pass of Tchetchico, a defile of the utmost importance, between Begemder and Lasta. Having effected that design, which cut off the retreat of his enemies into the mountains, he made Lubo and his Galla advance against the rebels, as they were now called. Hubna Woldo and his savages were roughly handled; for the unfortunate governor of Begemder fought bravely and in desperation. He was obliged by the royalists to retreat, and several prisoners were taken, among whom was Romé, the chief of Lasta, who had deserted from Michael. A Galla who took him presented him to the Ras; but he exclaimed in a passion, "Why have you brought me that worthless fellow? kill him; cut his throat;" (meter kesado), which the soldier did, and delivered his *shebsheb* to Michael, to be sent to Dippebaye *.

* The character of Ras Michael, drawn by Mr Bruce, appears, from the MS. Annals, to be very accurately delineated. He seems to have been cunning, fierce, eloquent, avari-

The king continued his march through Begemder, till he came to the celebrated pass. Mariam Barea took refuge among the Galla Wutchilo, and those of Ambaselé in Amhara, by whom he was delivered up to the Ras. The chronicle says, " that Michael would not see his face, because he pitied him, and remembered the scripture, which forbids us to insult those whom the Lord hath delivered into our hand." He sent the prisoner to the king, and refused to sit upon his trial, saying, " It is not proper that I pronounce upon him the sentence of death, for we are enemies." But Kasmati Lubo stood before the king in rage, and said, " I judge him with the sentence of death, for my brother Kasmati Brule died without judgment." They pronounced the sentence, and took him out of the tent; and Kasmati Lubo lifted his lance and pierced him first, and after him all the Galla stabbed him, and butchered him (tabahwo) like an ox, and cut off his head, and brought it to Ras Michael, and threw it down before him as they do spoils; but he did not rejoice at that deed, but said, " Take it out of my sight."

Such is the account, given in the chronicle, of this barbarous action. During the delay of the army in Lasta, which had been occasioned by the flight of Mariam Barea, Fasil's Galla had mutinied, and demanded to be sent home to their own country. " Michael, sharp (suhul) of heart as a spear, and sharp of tongue as a knife, said, ' How shall I return, while the sons of Ayo are kings in Begemder? How can king Joas be the king of other provinces, if those enemies be not destroyed? I will pursue them, and put them under his feet."

The royal army began its march homewards on the 1st of Yacatit. Michael's prowess and abilities as a general were universally applauded, particularly his address in seizing the pass of Tchetchico, which was reckoned impregnable, and had defied the might of many Abyssinian armies. The dislike of the king and his people to Michael had existed during the whole of the campaign, and became evident before they left

cious, and cruel. He bribed the Galla at court, till they united with him in destroying the Kuaragna, and then turned his arms against both. He could speak, when he chose, at great length, and with much ability, but in common conversation he was short and sententious. The leading trait in his character was *ferocity*.

Begemder. Joas and his Galla entered Gondar on the 20th of Yacatit (February 1769). The Ras was left behind at a place called Fertsa, not far from Tedda. " The Galla said, ' Let him not enter the town, but go to Tigre.' The king sent Woosheka, one of his servants, to tell the Ras, ' Go to thy country, and do not see my face.' Michael replied, ' They return me evil for good, and hatred for love. I have brought the crown; I have taken Tchetchico, and killed the rebels. Say, go; and I go: cut off my head, and I cut it off." Without obeying the mandate, he proceeded, on the 22d of Yacatit, to Tedda, where the Acab Saat Abba Salama and the Itchegue met him with orders, not to drink of the Angrab, nor enter the king's camp, but to go to his country. He demanded a trial. The king said, he had no quarrel with him, but that his kindred would not allow him to enter.

Thursday, 24th Yacatit, Michael encamped on Debra Dafitcho, within sight of Gondar. All was in confusion in the town. That night a council was held in the palace, to destroy him if possible. Soon after, the Ras fought his way into the city, and took possession of his house.

A truce was made, for a short time, between him and the Galla. On the 11th Megabit, Lubo left the town for Begemder, his province; and having arrived at Hegr Salam, sent a tumultuous message every where to raise troops. Damot and Maitsha rose: The Eleman and Densa Galla rendezvoused at Ibaba: Dara and Begemder assembled in Foggora: Woggora, on the north, rose in Anjaba-meda. The Ras told the king, that his kindred were gathering: " Order them to dismiss, otherwise I will receive them as I can." The king and queen replied, " We are one with thee by oath;" which pleased Michael, as he had no hatred to *them*. The oath was administered by the holiest hermits. The king sent a message to Lubo, ordering him to disband his forces. He answered, " I have no king, but him whom I shall bring down from Wechne." He likewise sent to Fasil, to Zugara Confu, and Aclil, but they refused, as did also the Kuaragna, contrary to their queen's orders. They joined with the Galla, and, by oath, renounced the blood of their brother Casmati Eshte *.

* This coalition was regarded with abhorrence by the disinterested part of the nation. Eshte was much lamented; and this renunciation of revenge for his death disgusted all Abyssinia at his kindred.

The Galla came in three armies against the Ras, who defeated them totally on the 25th of Miaizay, (21st April), the day after Easter. The measures which he adopted after this victory, shall be related in the words of nis historian: "At mid-day Ras Michael blew the trumpet of return, and entered the town by the way of Wanzagué. In those eight days of the passover he held a council, in which he said, 'What seemeth good to you in this thing? If we let this king sit upon the throne of the kingdom, the safety of the world, and our own safety, cannot be held in justice and righteousness. His kindred cannot rest till they kill us, and they will not do otherwise. And if we would hinder them, we must kill the king. But the scripture saith, touch not my anointed, and do not lay thy hand on the anointed of the Lord.'—And his counsellors said, 'Did not we tell thee before, whilst we were in the way, when thou begannest to fight, that this king was good for nothing? But when we said, let us make a king, thou always didst deny us in every thing, till he came upon thee. Now make a king to us, that shall possess us and the world in justice and righteousness.' And, on the 29th, on the Saturday, he sent his servants towards Wechné; and, on the 30th Miaizay, 7261, on Sunday, they brought down Yohannes (John).

"Month of Ginbot. On the first day, he entered Gondar; and the nobles and judges received him, as also the priests of the hills (hermits and monks) with psalms, and music, and joy, and exultation. And, on the 2d day, he was made king with the crown, as kings are; and the book of his history we will also write, as the Holy Spirit shall direct us. And that king, who was deposed, while he was in the palace by the king's permission, grew a little sick. And, on Monday 8th, at midnight, died Joas, king of kings.

"We have finished the history of king Yasous, and king Joas, and of the queen Welleta Georgis, by the help of the Lord. Amen, and Amen. So let it be."

ADDENDA.

THE Coptic MS. on papyrus, purchased by Mr Bruce at Thebes, is certainly not of very great antiquity, though the manufacture of the article on which it is written seems to be now neglected in Egypt.

The Synaxar is a book which answers in the Abyssinian church to the Legenda Sanctorum in the Romish. It was compiled by Abba Michael, bishop of Athrib and Malig, and Abba Johannes, bishop of Brulos, and other holy men of the Alexandrian church. They read their legends on each day, from the beginning of Thoth, or Mascaram, till the end of the year, and then arranged them into volumes. Volume first of Mr Bruce's copy contains the legends from Mascaram to the end of Hedar, in 100 folia. Volume II. from Tahsas to Yacatit, 110 folia. Volume III. from Megabit to Ginbot 70 folia. Volume IV. from Sene to the end of the Epagomenai, about the same number of folia with the preceding.

The following particulars respecting the price of copying MSS. in Habbesh, are extracted from some accounts kept by Balugani at Gondar. Mr Bruce was recommended to one Adigo Aytcho, who lived near the Ras's old house, and called himself a scribe of the law, viz. the Old Testament, &c. The bible in Mr Bruce's possession was written by different hands. Aytcho seems to have written the Pentateuch. Some of the memoranda are as follows:

Dec. 12. 1770. Weleda Yesous, the younger, has undertaken to write the books of Joshua and Judges, and has received three quires of four leaves each*; and two salts to account of his pay. On the 19th, he has received two salts for a quire of writing. On the 30th, he has received two salts for a quire of writing. On the 8th January, 1771, he has received one blank quire, and two salts for a quire of writing. The book is finished with four quires, and all is paid.

Weleda Selasse has undertaken to write Jeremiah, December 17. 1770.

He has received two quires of four leaves each, and two salts to account of his victual. On the 22d, he has received two salts for a quire

* It appears that Mr Bruce furnished the parchment, and gave so much money per advance, for the maintenance of the scribe.

of writing. On the 30th, two salts for a quire of writing. On the 9th of January, 1771, he has received a blank quire, and delivered a quire of writing.

This book is finished with four quires and a leaf, and two quires and one leaf remain unpaid for.

Confu has undertaken to write the books of Chronicles, in the Old Testament, December 17; has received four quires of four leaves each, and two salts to account of his diet.

The account of Weleda Selasse has been settled as follows: Of thirty-seven *branne* (sheets) which Mr Dascalo says he has written, there have been found only thirty-five. But, as the number of letters and lines did not amount to so much, they have been reduced to twenty-eight; so he should have twenty-eight salts, and, for three months victuals, six salts; in all, thirty-four due to Weleda Selasse.

The following extract from an account, addressed to Mr Bruce by Arnaud & Co. of Cairo, Feb. 31, 1776, will give some idea of the price of books and medals in the east.

1773.		*Pat.*	*Med.*
April 28.	History of the revolutions of Egypt under the Bashas, from A. H. 1099 to 1168, ...	1	45
May 5.	Two volumes in fol. history of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, ...	18	0
	Third volume of ditto copied, papers, &c. . . .	10	23
June 5.	One vol. 4to, History of Antar Ibn Shedad, . .	4	17
22.	Two ditto. History of the conquest of Egypt and Syria by Wakedi, ...	10	45
	One, in folio, history of Noureddin and Saladin,	13	0
20.	One gold medal of Ptolemy XIII, brother of Cleopatra, ...	17	0
	One ditto of Ptolemy Philopator, ...	19	22
Aug. 11.	One vol. 4to. History of Yemen, ...	2	45
10.	One vol. 4to. Treatise on Pilgrimage to Mecca, .	1	45
	One vol. 4to. Explanation of dreams by Artemidorus,	3	45
31.	One gold medal of Ptolemy XI.	18	0

Aug. 13.	One ditto, Arsinoe of Philopator, ...	18	8
Sept. 6.	Two vols. fol. History of Mahomet, ...	24	0
17.	The Koran, 1 vol. fol.	15	0
Oct. 8.	One vol. fol. Persian Poems of Navesi, ...	4	0
	One vol. 4to. Commentary on the duties of a writer,	2	70
	Macrizi's topographical history of Egypt, 3 vols. 4to.	17	0

N. B. The pataka may be rated at from three shillings to three and fourpence. Vide Brown's Travels, p. 57; eighty-five medins make a pataka. The price of a good copy of the Koran, not exceedingly embellished, is therefore about L. 2 : 10*.

Mr Bruce's collection of Arabic MSS. extends to about 70 volumes. The number of works are in all sixty-one, some of which are of the best kind, and tolerably known in Europe; others are of less value, and need not be mentioned. A short account of a few of them will suffice in this place.

1. Kitab insani eloyoun fi sirat elamin almamoun; taaliph El Imam Sidi, al Ali Halebi, al Safei. An extensive history of Mohammed, in two vol. folio; excellently written. The author one Ali, a native of Aleppo.

2. Moroge addahab, or the golden meadows, chiefly a history of the Caliphs, &c. by Ali Abu l'hassan Al Massoudi. 2 vol. folio.

3. Kitab al Rozatin fi akhbar adulatin Al Nouriet wa al Salahiet; history of the reigns of Noureddin and Salaheddin (the celebrated Saladin) by Shekh Abdulraman Ebn Ismail Ibn Ibrahim Al Shama—an ancient and valuable author—1 vol. fol.

4. Nafkhi el Tabib, taalif Shekh Ahmed Almonkeri al Andulsi, 3 vol. fol. A history of the literature and kingdom of Granada. This work is much embellished with poetry, and is undoubtedly very valuable.

5. Tarikh Ibn Khalican. The biographical dictionary of Ahmed Ibn Mahommed Ibn Khalican Abu l'abbas Shemsaddin, composed partly at Cairo, and partly at Damascus, where he was appointed a cadi, or judge, by Malik Addaher Bibars Mamaluke Sultan of Egypt, A. Hegirae 762;

* The pataka is rated by Mr Bruce, Travels, Vol. i. p. 119, at five shillings, which is perhaps nearer the truth.

about A. D. 1294. This is an excellent work. The MS. is in two vol. folio, and well written, though, in some places, rather carelessly.

6. Kitab elajaieb elmakhaloucat, wagoraieb alwajoudat, taalif Al Sheikh Mahommed Ibn Abdullah el Cazwini.—This is a tolerably well known treatise on natural history, which the Arabs write on the model of Pliny. It is divided into ten parts. In the first the author treats of celestial things; in the second of the heavens; in the third of time; in the fourth of terrestrial things; in the fifth of the elements; in the sixth of mines; in the seventh of plants; in the eighth of animals and anatomy; in the ninth of strength, and in the tenth of beauty. As the history of Arabic literature and philosophy is not exceedingly obscure, it is unnecessary to make any observations on the contents of these divisions. This work was composed by Mahommed Abdoullah, a native of Caswin, in Persia. 1 vol. fol.

7. Kitab akhbar el zeman. A treatise on universal history. Most of the Arabic historical books must be called by this title, from the extent of subject which the authors profess to illustrate. They set out from the creation of the world, and run down through what are called in our old histories the four monarchies, till they arrive at the æra of their Apostle. The narrative then becomes interesting and full, because the history of the Chalifs is well known. There are many treatises under the above title; as may be seen in D'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, and other books on Arabic literature. 8vo.

8. Kitab Kisseh fatouah al Yemen taaliph al Sheikh Abou l' hassan al Bekri. History of the conquest of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, by Abou l' hassan al Bekri. This work contains several curious particulars relative to the ancient history of Yemen. It is in one vol. 8vo.

9. Kitab akhbar el awal fi man tassarapha fi Messir min addoulla tohfat el Cholafa; taalif Mahommed Ibn Abdul maatei Ibn Abu l' Kotha al Menoufi. A history of Egypt under the Chalifs, one vol. 8vo.

10. Jagraphieh tarikh Abdulla Al Mamoun Ibn Haroun el Rashidi. This MS. contains a description of the earth on the plan of Ptolemy; and, in the course of it, many curious particulars respecting Soudan and other places in Africa. Though the Arabian geographers are of all writers the greatest plagiarists, they frequently give useful notices,

and their writings deserve to be better known. All their works have a resemblance to one another: The scientific part is closely copied from Ptolemy. In their accounts of remote countries they often give fabulous reports which had been current in the east long before their time, mixed with information derived from travellers. One of the best Arabic writers on geography is Edrisi, an abridgement of whose work is known in Europe, and a part of which has been illustrated in a learned and careful manner by Professor Hartmann of Gottingen. There are some geographical writers quoted by Edrisi, whose works are probably still extant, and merit the attention of the learned, as being the sources of his information, and part of the chain which connects Grecian and Arabic literature. The above-mentioned MS. is carelessly written on bad paper. It is a small quarto.

11. Kharidat al ajaieb wa feridat al goraieb; taalif Al Sheik Al Nasih Al Maliki. A work on the plan of N0. 6. of this account. It contains many particulars in geography: one vol. 8vo.

12. Kitab al Rozat fi Tarikh Geziret Messir. A history of Egypt in one vol. 8vo.

13. Kitab Coccub al Rozat, taalif Shekh Gelaleddin Abu Fadl Abdulrahman Al Soiuti, one vol. fol. This is an account of Egypt and the Nile, compiled from Edrisi, Hassan el Mondar, Abulfeda, el Tiphasi, and, in short, from all the Arabic geographers and poets who wrote on that subject before the author. His work is a perpetual series of quotations, many of which are very curious.—Some account of this and of Gelaledin's other writings may be seen in D'Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. In this MS. is a plan of the Nile issuing from Jibbel el Kumr, and flowing into the salt sea, or Mediterranean. It is an exceedingly rude performance. The four rivers run on each side down from the mountain, without any meander in their course till they reach the lake under the equator; and thence the illuminated stream is conducted to the foot of the page, without any regard to proportion or probability. It is drawn after the description in Edrisi, or perhaps in some older writer; and is a miserable proof of the low state of geographical knowledge in the east. The stories concerning the temple of Idris, or Enoch, situated on one of the mountains of the moon, and of the statue of the

man, who was transformed for his impiety, along with the other Egyptian fables respecting the sources of the Nile, seem to be told more circumstantially by this author than by Edrisi.

14. Nesib al Koreishi, taalif Abu l'Abbas Ibn al Malik al Jahed. A history of the tribe of Koreish, and of the actions of the prophet. This is a thin vol. in 8vo. Bound up with it are a few pages which Mr Bruce got at Sennaar from Ahmed Sid el Koom, containing the names of the Funge kings, with an account of the length of their reigns, from Amru Ibn Adelan to Ismail, who was king in 1772. It is what he calls " the hangman's roll," Travels, Vol. IV. p. 373; and of which he gives a translation.—Ib. p. 376.

15. Kheridat al ajaieb wa feridat al goraieb, taalif Zeineddin Omar Ibn al Wardi. This is a very useful geographical work, of which we have an account by De Guignes, in Vol. II. p. 19—60 of Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliotheque Royale. Paris, 1787. This MS. is in vol. 8vo.

16. Kitab alwaad walitibar fi dhakr il Khatat walathar. A topographical history of Egypt in three vols. small 8vo. by Takioddin Ahmed Ibn Ali el Makrizi. This author wrote several excellent works, all of which deserve to be better known. Maillet made much use of this topographical history in his description of Egypt, which indeed he might have composed without having been in that country. The MS. is elegantly written, though, in some places, carelessly.

17. Phatuhat al Sham wa Messir wageiroha, taalif Abu Abdullah Ibn Ahmed Al Wakedi, two vols. small quarto. This is a very excellent history of the Revolutions of Syria and Egypt under the Mahommedans.

18. Hasn atmohtassera fi akhbar Messir al Kahira, taalif al Shekh Gellaleddin Al Soiuti. An abridged history of Egypt by Al Soiuti, one vol. 8vo.

19. Sherah Hatabat adabe el Kateb, taalif Ibn Cotba. A treatise on the duties of a writer, by Ibn Cotba. This is a very amusing work. The MS. is finely written, and very elegant; it is in large 8vo.

20. Sirat Antar Ibn Shedad. The life of Antar Ibn Shedad. A romance. Beautifully written in one thick volume octavo, and curious.

21. Khabr Jalaad Melec el Hind wa Wazir Samish el Hakim. History of Jalaad, king of India, and the Vizir Samish el Hakim, a romance, written on vellum, one vol. fol.

22. Diwane Sebt al Tawidi. A collection of panegyrics, poems, &c. one vol. large 8vo.

These are the titles of some of the principal historical and geographical works in Mr Bruce's collection; but there are in it many other small treatises on the history of Egypt and Syria; such as the life of Sultan Addaher Bibars; the expedition of Sultan Selim against Khansu el Ghuri; the siege of Bahnesa (a fabulous history); chronicle of the chalifs by el Cazani; history of the Pashas in Egypt from A. H. 1099 to A. H. 1161; History of the four first caliphs, &c. &c.; and a great number of medical works, by Mousa el tebib, Haroun el Ishraeli Ibn Aws Ibn Hakim el Monteb, Ibn Shehin al Cadruni, al Maliki, &c. in many volumes, a description of which is unnecessary in this place.

Considering the value of oriental literature, in all investigations which are intended to examine, or illustrate, the principles of revealed religion, and the tendency of that literature to promote our knowledge of a very extensive and interesting portion of the globe, not to mention the advancement of our political interests in India, it is to be regretted, that the study of that branch of learning is, in this country, neither cultivated nor encouraged. Perhaps theologians think, that the church is secure on the basis of what has been already done; and that a general neglect, not to say ignorance, of the language of the sacred books may be excused, as the industry of former times has enabled us to know, in general, what they contain. This security is not prudent. For the great scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had not the same advantages either in criticism or philosophy which we possess. They ascertained what was truth as far as they were able; but it cannot be supposed, that a work, which is progressive, could be finished at once. Considerable pains have, indeed, been taken, to procure by collation, an accurate copy of the Old Testament; but it is astonishing

to see how little knowledge of the oriental languages, Lowth, and other translators of particular books, have shewn in their different works. Literature is disgraced by a number of dull Hebrew grammars and dictionaries, written by such scholiasts as Parkhurst, Bate, &c. who pretend to settle the meaning of words, and, at the same time, have neither good sense and judgment to investigate, nor learning to discover the objects of their research. By maintaining that the Hebrew language exists only in the Bible, and by thus detaching it from the Arabic, and other related dialects, they assume a liberty of giving whatever form and meaning to the words they think most plausible. Yet the grammar and prosody of the Jewish language might easily be traced from these kindred sources. On the other hand, if infidels should attack the sacred books in the present state of Hebrew philology, it is certain, that they might gain a greater advantage than, on a first view of the subject, may be apprehended, and a support to their arguments, which it would require some time and attention to remove. The literature of Jones, united with the wit and intentions of Voltaire, would do more harm than many volumes of philosophical scepticism.

No. XLVI.

Extracts from Mr Bruce's Journals and MSS. relating to his Travels in Abyssinia and Nubia.

PART I.

Transactions at Gondar, and Journey to the Sources of the Nile.

In the year 1769, when Mr Bruce entered Abyssinia, Michael the governor of Tigré had, by force of arms and intrigue, conquered both the

Kuaragna and Galla parties, which had successively ruled the nation since the death of Bacuffa in 1719. At that period a rare combination of circumstances, that seldom takes place, secured the throne to the Iteghe, and her son Yasous, at his accession a child of only eight years of age. His reign, though neither glorious nor active, was sufficiently able to maintain the obedience of the distant provinces, which his premature death, and the prejudices of his son, instantly threw into confusion. Three irreconcileable factions rose to contend for the favours and direction of the crown, all of them dangerous to its interest and authority. The Kuaragna, headed at first by Welled leoul, the queen's brother, and afterwards by Kasmati Eshte, and others of her relations, had long been superior to all the rest, on account of their affinity to the queen, and the active measures they had taken for the protection of her government. The Galla, a race which the policy of former kings had endeavoured to render useful to their natural enemies the Abyssinians, by dividing their interests, and changing their habitations, religion, and manners, found easy access to patronage and power under Joas, the grandson of a Galla chief, whose daughter had been imprudently married to the young king of Abyssinia. The third party, the natives of Tigré, united under Michael, a cruel, ambitious, and rebellious warrior, was inferior, in number and interest, to any of the rest; but far more formidable than they, on account of the abilities of its leader, the skill and command of fire arms, which it had obtained by situation, and the opportunity of rushing in from a distance on the more powerful parties, after they had exhausted their strength in mutual conflict.

Michael, surnamed Suhul, or the Sharp, an epithet reckoned very expressive of his character, was the fifth in lineal descent from the celebrated Ayto Robel, Shum of Selawe, who promoted the league with the Portuguese. His mother was the grand-daughter of Delba Yasous, Kasmati of Tigré, the father of Oustas the Usurper. The name of his father was Welled Hezekias, who seems to have lived and died in obscurity in the province, as his name is not mentioned in any high station under the princes of his time; and Michael was accustomed to boast of his nobility by the mother's side, without taking notice of his paternal extrac-

tion*. His youth was spent in the civil commotions of Tigré, at a distance from the seat of government, always turbulent on account of the dissensions among the rulers of the several districts, and the habits of war and robbery which the natives had acquired since the period of the Turkish invasion. From a dependant on the governor, he at last became the leader of a party, that employed itself during war in the ordinary adventures of Abyssinian campaigns, and during peace in robbery and depredation, in order to preserve its existence. After the death of Bacuffa, Tigré was divided amongst several noblemen, some of whom had nearly renounced obedience to the crown. Woldo, Kasmati of Enderta, had long established himself in the province by force, having put to death all the governors of Tsegade, Samen, and the inferior districts; and so distant were his affections from the service of the king, that he had remitted to Gondar only a scanty tribute, and had not appeared there since the reign of David IV. Michael was the only antagonist he had not subdued. This rising enemy had received from the Iteghe and her son the government of Adowa, which had been taken from Basha Retu about the year 7223, in which Michael, in a short time, fortified himself so strongly, as to defy the ambition of Woldo, and expel him from the northern part of the province. As his district bordered upon the territory of the Naybe of Masuah, Michael obtained from him whatever supplies he demanded, and suffered no person to enter Abyssinia in that quarter without his permission. He quarrelled with the Abuna and the clergy of Axum, whose lands he immediately seized, and brought a person from Jidda to perform the duties of primate in his government, on condition of allowing himself to possess the lands of the church. In consequence of this and other rebellious practices, Michael was besieged on Debra Samayat, a strong mountain in Tigré, by Yasous and his whole army, and taken prisoner in the month of Ter, A. M. 7239 (A. D. 1746).

* The genealogy of Michael is given in the MS. Tarikh, or history of his transactions, as follows: By the father's side, Ayto Robel, Shum of Selawe, Ayto Arame, Ayto Lebasi, Welled Hawaryat, Welled Hezekias, Suhul Michael. By the mother's side, Delba Yasous, Azaze Jacob, then Jacob's daughter, Eshet Mariam, who bore the Ras. By Welleta Gabriel, Michael had Welled Hawaryat, and Welled Kedane.

Having made his peace with the king, he was appointed Kasmati of all Tigre, in Tekemt, A. M. 7242 (A. D. 1749), at Gondar, to the complete exclusion of Kasmati Woldo, who had offended the crown. Reduced to extremity, Woldo armed in his defence the Taltal Doba and Galla of Angot, but with little success, for Michael pursued him with incessant battle into the remotest corner of his government. The king, anxious to secure the tranquillity of his subjects, next year, at the end of the rains, crossed the Tacazze, and brought Michael, Woldo, and his ally Denguish, to Gondar by the way of Axum; and, retaining them several months at court, endeavoured to reconcile them by every artifice in his power. All his wishes were totally ineffectual. They were dismissed in Miaizay, 7243 (April 1750), and by the end of the rains were again in arms. Kasmati Woldo fell on the 19th Ter, 7244, before the royal army, which was marching with haste to separate him and his enemy, arrived in Tigre. Michael, by this event, obtained full command over the whole province, and was confirmed each succeeding year till the death of Yasous, 21st Sene, 7247. Notwithstanding the rainy season, and the distance of his province, the Kasmati of Tigre arrived at Gondar on the 24th, to assist at the coronation of Joas, a child of seven years old, whom his grandmother placed on the throne. About two months after, the queen's third daughter, Ozoro Altash, was married to his son, Welled Hawaryat, lately created Bajerund, which established his connection with the royal family. On the 21st Sene, 7249 (June 1756), Michael again hastened to Gondar, in order to maintain his interest against Ayo, governor of Begemder, who had resolved to give up his places in favour of his son, Mariam Barea, a young nobleman of great accomplishments, and therefore a dangerous competitor for the royal favour, in the opinion of a man who aimed at the government of a whole kingdom. Ayo arrived on the 23d of Mascaram, 7250; but Michael had procured for himself the province of Samen, which lies between Tigre and Begemder, and in this he was invested on the eighth day of the following month. Possessing a frontier country once ruled by his enemies, he lived for ten years in a state of hostility with Mariam Barea, who was governor of Begemder, and nearly connected to the royal family by his marriage with the queen's daughter, Ozoro Esther, the young widow of Netcho, Kas-

mati of Tcherkin. Esther, whose name appears so often in the Travels as the friend of the author, was married to Netcho soon after his appointment to the government of Tsegade, Walkait, and Raselfil, which took place on the 27th Tahsas, A. M. 7243 (Dec. 1750). She was taken from him, before his defeat and death, by the queen, and given to Ayo Mariam Barea, on the 21st of Tekemt, 7253 (Oct. 1760). With this unfortunate nobleman she lived till his death, and threw herself, on the 29th of Ter, 7261, (Feb. 1769), into the arms of the bitter enemy of her husband's family, to the ruin of the king and his Galla kindred, who had murdered him with circumstances of the greatest cruelty. Before this singular event, Michael had nearly obtained the height of his ambition. He had been created Ras, 11th Mascaram, 7260, in place of the queen's brother, Ras Welled leoul, who had died on the 20th Megabit, 7259; and he was confirmed in the office of Betwudet immediately before setting out for the campaign of Begemder. His course after that was stained with every pollution of treason and murder. He defeated the army of his master at Fenter, Miaizay 25th, 7261 (April, 1769), entered Gondar in triumph, and having brought Hannes, the brother of Bacuffa, from Wechne, caused the king to be assassinated at midnight, Monday, 8th of Ginbot, the same year. Hannes being unable to act, through age and infirmity of mind, the Ras secretly ordered him to be poisoned, after a reign of seven months, in Hedar, 7262 (Oct. 1769). Tecla Haimanout, the son of Hannes, was placed on the throne, a boy of fifteen years of age, older indeed than many of the former kings at their accession, but sufficiently young to serve the purposes of his elector*.

Such is the history of the principal events in the life of the man who was all-powerful in Abyssinia at the time of Mr Bruce's arrival at Masuah. He left that place, Nov. 10, 1769, and came to Gondar, Feb. 15th, 1770. The King and the Ras were absent in the campaign against Fasil Waragna, and Mr Bruce lived in the Mahometan town with Hagi Saleh, or at Koscam, till they returned, on the 2d of March, when he saw them

* The Ethiopic dates are taken from the MS. Annals of Abyssinia, Vol. V.; the corresponding month and year, according to the European calculation, is given as nearly as the inequality of the two modes of computation will admit of.

for the first time. It may not be improper to transcribe from his common-place book the account of their entrance, and the opinion he at first conceived of the Ras. It was written after going home, at a time when he had not received any favours from Michael, nor known him sufficiently, to form an estimate of his real character. It abounds in Arabic names of Abyssinian offices and places, on account of the author's having received his information from the Mahometans; and the orthography is not so correct as he afterwards made it.

" The 2d of March we went to meet the king on his march to Gondar. The Vizir (Râs) came first, with about a hundred horse, mounted upon a mule. He first stopt and made a short prayer at the church of Azazo, and then came to a small hill on the other side of the river Dumaza, which runs below Azazo, that is near Gondar. His mule ran so fast, and he was so poorly dressed, that, though we were dismounted to wait for him, he past us without our being able to salute him. Having past the Dumaza, he sat himself down on a small rising ground to see the army pass, while they were pitching his tent. The army advanced by twos and threes, all in disorder; part encamped, the rest entered Gondar. There was no order observed. We first pulled off our shoes, and then kissed his hand, sitting down as he desired us. After the vizir came the king, with about an hundred horse, with forty drums, mounted on mules, beating before him; and long horns, or trumpets, after the fashion of the country. Upon the king's passing we all rose; so did the vizir, and stood till he was past. On the other hand, the king seeing him standing, hastened to pass that he might sit again, for he was above 80 years old, and was besides lame, his thigh being broke in his youth, by a wound from a lance. The king entered his tent, and the vizir his; where, after he had changed his dress, put on a muslin striped shirt, and ordered (curled) his hair in the fashion of his country, we were again admitted. He was sitting on a sofa; on each side of him were his great men, and particularly Kasmati Gueta, just then reconciled to him, with all the rest of the late king's party, that were called Kuaragna, as being from the province of Kuara, the country of the queen-mother. Gueta had paid 1000 ounces of gold for this peace. The vizir was tall, not very black, his hair and beard as white as snow,

the first of which he dressed however after the mode of young men, and though 80 years of age, his face appeared like a man of 60. His face did not bespeak the man of parts he was, for it had a great share of silliness, and his whole manner was exceedingly clownish and brutish. He asked my country's name, if I was a Christian, and if a Frank; to which we answered as we found our advantage. After a very small stay we went out of his tent to that of the officer's next adjoining, to learn the particulars of the late battle. The king's tent is of red cloth; long, pent-house like at top, within brocade. Before the king were carried three standards, being each a large ball silver-gilt, surmounted by a cross, carried on a long staff, and below the ball a small flag of three points, blue, red, and green, about two feet long, without device. The king rode upon a mule all covered with scarlet, and blue housing; his head bare, with a fine linen or muslin cloth wrapped around him, which he held with one hand up to his mouth. We were too far off to discern his features; and the vizir being very busy, we did not take his leave to see him in his tent. Three of the queen's daughters, one of whom, the widow of Mariam Barea, was now the vizir's wife, came after, riding upon mules like men, their faces half uncovered, with parasols like a *dais* carried over their heads, as was likewise over the heads of the vizir and king. All the clergy came flocking to visit him, amongst the rest the monks of Koscam, with two standards like the former, and two silver drums; the Gumenos and two other priests, with their mitres and pontificals. They stopped before the tent about 100 yards, and began to sing hymns, after finishing which they were admitted. The vizir, soon after his murder of the king, put the Gumenos in irons, being very rich by the queen's bounties, and did not release him till he had paid 500 ounces of gold, equal to 5000 patakas *.

"The 3d in the morning, the king made his entry. Before him came part of the troops, horse and foot, without any order, about 4000, who joined themselves to about 500 horse, and the same number of musque-

* It is uncertain who Mr Bruce calls by this name, whether the Itchegue, Acab-saat, or Prior of Koscam. The last of these three seems to be the Gumenos, or head of a particular church, which he here designates.

teers, of the Vizir of Tigre, who had before occupied the square before the king's house. After came the king, wrapped up to the nose in the white cloth they wear, having three standards and 40 drums before him, and a *dais* carried over his head. After him were carried the *dais* used in the celebration of divine service in his tent or camp. Behind these, at a very small distance, was the Viceroy of Tigre; before him was carried a silver rod, with several rings of gold, and a gold ball on the top of it, the ensign of his office. After him came the king's musqueteers, and the different Casmati's, or governors of provinces, Gusho of Amhara, Wondy Powussen (Wundu-bewusen) of Begamidre, and Kuflo Yesous, newly made governor of Samen, in the room of Ayto Tesfo, who had caballed, and still kept possession of Samen. All the soldiers who had killed an enemy, distinguished themselves by a narrow stripe of red cloth upon his lance or musket; if he had slain more he carried more, and round his wrist he had the privy parts of his enemies killed, stuffed with straw, which, as soon as the king was seated, he threw down, each in his turn, before him, with encomiums on his own bravery; and this is the never-failing practice, even when a woman is regent, as was the late queen in the minority of Joas and his father Yasous. The different viceroys were distinguished by particular ornaments on their heads, short waistcoats, and short breeches of silk stuffs of Scio, and a silver shield. Gusho was married to the queen's daughter, Ozoro Altash*, and after to a daughter of the Viceroy of Tigre. Wondy Powussen, who had distinguished himself in the late fight, was to be married to a daughter of Ras Michael's son, Welled Hayrat (Hawaryat), by Ozoro Altash, daughter of the late queen. He had been one of the principal Shums of Mariam Barea, and upon his master's death had taken refuge in the Ras's tent from the fury of Lupo (Lubo), and had grown up into great favour by the protection of the queen's daughter, Mariam Barea's wife, who, after her husband's death, had been married to Ras Michael, according to the manner of marrying in the country. Among the trophies was the skin of Woosheka, Lupo's servant, who had been flead by order

* Rather to Ozoro Welleta Israel, mother of Aylo of Gojam. Gusho was her second husband.

of the Ras, stuffed, and ordered to be hung upon the large tree before the king's house, which seemed to disgust the people."

The common-place book after this gives a journal of the health of the Ras, who seems to have been afflicted with various kinds of diseases, bodily, moral, and political, during the time that Mr Bruce stayed in Gondar, before his removal to Emfras. The bulletin is as follows:

" March 11th. Waited on the Ras that day. Duho came with an insulting message from Fasil about Boro da Gogo. Powussen received on that day his wife's portion, 100 carpets, 100 guns, 100 mules, 100 oxen with their ploughing instruments, besides 1000 other oxen and cows. The goods were all brought into the presence chamber; the Ozoros and the queen sent also guns, knives, and the ras-werk, or diadem, they wear upon their heads.' March 7th. Wondy Wusen came to Koscam, and carried * his bride to his tent and army at Azazo; and on the 8th set out with Gusho home. Boro da Gogo had been left Kasmati of Gojam by Michael against Waragna. 9th. Arrived Nanna Georgis, Shekh of the Agows, with little gold. Damot and Maitsha had refused to pay the miry. He departed home on the 12th. March 11th. This evening the Ras had a complaint in his knee, which was the occasion of his sending for me; he was easier the two succeeding days, having rubbed it with spirits of wine and camphor, which I gave him. He seemed averse to using all remedies, and refused taking any except those which I tasted before him. 13th and 14th. Very uneasy at bad accounts from Gojam, and repenting his having returned contrary to his own opinion. The 15th he had a pain in his side, which continued till the 18th, when he proposed to be cupped, but changed his mind; he looked ill, but had no fever; it seemed fretting at the defeat of the Agows. 19th. Word came of Boro's defeat; the Ras very ill, but would take no remedies; on the same day arrived a man from Fasil, who said that he flead two men alive for the death of Woosheka (found out to be false); that Aylo of Gojam had made peace; that Boro da Gogo had married a daughter of Welled Guetan (Keden), son of Ras

* This is a ceremony used at marriages. The husband carries the bride on his back to his own house, or at least round that of her father.

Michael: Boro had formerly married a daughter of Casmati Eshte. 20th. Ras Michael, though visibly worse, in revenge for Boro, ordered the eyes of 44 Galla to be pulled out at the tent of Kufla Yesous, Kasmati of Tigre. 21st. The Ras much the same. 22d. Still nobody admitted; will take no medicine but melted butter. 23d. Still ill; nobody admitted; reports go that Nanna Girgis is either beaten or revolted, but this false."

The journal is continued on till the meeting with the king at Lamgue in May, and from that time to the robbery at Dara by Guebra Mehedin and his party.

In Balugani's Italian Journal, this adventure is stated as follows:

Maggio 20. "A 10. mat. Siamo a ½ miglio sotto di Dara overo sotto la montagna ove è situato Dara. In questo luogho siamo stati surpresi per una truppa di ladri servitori di Ghebra Medin che sotto titulo di amici e servitori di Casmati Wuel de Ussen, si anno circondati in copioso numero e spogliati di tutto che noi portavimo. A un ora di camino di questo luogho tenendo il suddetto corso, per un vallone assai stretto, pieno di bosco, e di alberi molto curiosi, siamo andati a Dara in un villeggio di Turchi, nella casa di Cadrass Mahemet." At ten in the morning we are about half a mile under Dara, or rather under the mountain where Dara is situated. In that place we have been surprised by a troop of robbers, servants of Gebra Mehedin, who, under pretence of being friends and servants of Casmati Wundy-wusen, have surrounded us in great numbers, and spoiled us of every thing which we were carrying. At an hour's journey from that place, holding the same course, we have come through a very strait valley, full of wood, and very curious trees, to Dara, a village of Turks, into the house of Negade-ras Mahomet.

An account of this robbery is also given in Mr Bruce's common-place book, with the history of the war from that time till the taking of Michael in 1771.

Of the journey to the sources, there exist, besides the narrative in Mr Bruce's own words, written as he went along, a complete journal by Balugani in Italian, and many of the stripes of paper which he carried in his hand, on which he wrote with a pencil the history of each day before he entered it in the journal at night. If it were necessary to

confirm the accuracy of Mr Bruce's account by any additional evidence, these might be inserted here; but the reader may consider the following as a specimen of the whole journal, and estimate, by one of the most interesting passages, the accuracy of the rest. It is the diary of Tuesday and Wednesday, 30th and 31st October 1770; in the night of the first of which they met with Fasil at Bamba.

A 2¾ dato fondo a Bababaha.

30 Martedi.—A 6 ore. mat. salpato, per W. S. W.

A 6¼ passato il rio Saroccha, questo corre N. e S.

A 7 ore, per S. W. Tanchal restava alla destra 3½ migl.; qui cominciamo secondare il lago, a sinistra, Cochau nella strada.

Tchiemmera a destra a W. N. W. a 4½ m. distanza.

A 9¼ riposato a Delghi Mariam di qui la montagna Goi Mariam restava, per S. W. Mescalaxos restava, per S. S. W. Di Saroccha fino a Goi Mariam tutto e Tacussa. Cuara restava, per W. S. W. Goltuchia villagio dove si fa gran bazzar, il paese e di Casmati Mamo, al S. b W. resta Dinghelber e Dara S. E. b S. Coscamo, per N. E. b E.

A 10¼ Salpato, per S. W.

A 11 Arrico, villagio, 2 migl. a destra.

11¼ Dato fondo e riposato.

A ½ Sera, Salpato, per S. W.

A ¼ Andamo, per S. S. W.

A 1 ora. Caduss Michele a destra ½ miglio.

A 1½ Chidena Mariet, Meskelaxos sono due isole piccole ⅛ miglio di dist. A qui l'Abaj resta al S. S. E.

A 1¾ traversato il rio ——.

A 2 Passato per Mescalaxos che restava sopra una piccola montagna: a pocco doppo passato altro rio che si chiama Comon; di questo luogo la bocca del Nilo e per S. S. W.

A 2¾ Salpato del riposo per S. b W.

A $3\frac{1}{2}$ Traversato un grande rio che conduceva poca aqua ma chiara si chiama ——.
A $4\frac{1}{2}$ riposato nel vallone sotto Ambaba.
A 5 ripreso il camino, e dato fondo a Ambaba a $5\frac{1}{2}$.

$8\frac{1}{2}$ ore. = 18 migl.

31 Mercordi. In questo giorno abbiamo ritrovato il Rass Faccil campato nel vallone dove avevimo reposato, l'ultima volta, il giorno avanti. Il Rass era arrivato in questo luogo, verso le 7 della sera antecedente, e restato tutta la notte. Nella mattina a ricevuto noi con cortesia, mi ha regalato un cavallo, e dato un uomo chiamato Scialaka Woldo per proseguire il nostro viaggio alle fontane.

A $10\frac{1}{2}$ matt. salpato per S. b W.
A $11\frac{1}{4}$ riposato al rio Sorghi; corre per S. W. and N. E.
A 12 passato il rio di Dinghelber, corre come quello di sopra.
A $1\frac{1}{4}$ ora, arrivato alla chiesa, a Dinghelber alla casa del Rass. In questo luogo il lago e a $\frac{3}{4}$ de miglio lontano, ma è la profondita del golfo, poiche dalle 11 del giorno passato lo abbiamo sempre lasciato lontano circa 2 miglie e ritrovato qui a Dinghelber. Di Dinghelber li vedono, Emfras, per E. b N. Dara, per E. S. E. Dek, E. b S. l'Abaj uscito di lago, S. E. b E. Gonder, per N. E. Amidamid, per S. E. Sakalla, per S. b E. Guesghi, per S. S. W.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ or. = 7 migl.

The translation of which is given in the note*.

* On the 29th landed at Bababaha.

Tuesday 30th, at 6 o'clock, A. M. set out, W. S. W. At $6\frac{1}{4}$, passed the river Sarocca, which runs N. and S. At 7 travelled S. W.: Tenkel remained on our right $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. Here we begin to coast along the lake; on our left Cochaou, on the road; Tchemmera is on our right, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles off. At $9\frac{1}{4}$ rested at Delghi Mariam, whence the mountain Goi-Mariam bore S. W. Mescalaxos bore S. S. W. From Sarocca to Goi-Mariam all is Tocusso. Kuara bore W. S. W. Goltucca, a village where there is a great market, the country belonging to Kasmati Mammo, bears S. by W. Dingleber and Dara bear S. E. by

In the same manner the journal continues till their arrival at the fountains of the Nile. The journal of Sunday, November 4th, the day on which they reached Geesh, is as follows:

Domenica 4. di Novembre salpato di Davola a 8 ore, per E. S. E. a 8¼ passato un piccolo rio che viene di N. che si chiama Gugeri, quì abbiamo cominciato a montare lasciando il vallone alla destra, andando per S. E. e sempre costeggiando per E. S. E. A 8¾ traversato un torrente chiamato Carnaciuli, viene di N. E. Entrano tutti li due in Davola. Ora siamo in mezzo di vallone ——. A 9 ore, traversato il rio Caccino, e riposato. Viene di N. A 9½ Salpato per S. S. E. e 5 minute doppo, traversato il rio Davola. Costeggiando la montagna destra abbiamo passato a 20 passi un piccolo torrente che discende di questa montagna e viene di S. Abbiamo lasciato il rio Davola che corre nel vallone a sinistra, venendo di E. S. E. A 10½ corso S. b E. Afformasha montagna della

S. Koscam, N. E. b E. At 10¼ set out S. W. At 11, Arrico, a village on our right, 2 miles off. 11¼, Stopped to rest. At ½ one, P. M. set out, S. W. At ¼ one we travelled S. S. W. At 1, Kedus Michael was on our right, ½ mile distant. At 1½, Kedame Aret and Mescalaxos, two small islands in the lake, ⅛ mile distant. Here the Abay bore S. S. E. At 1¾ crossed the river ——. At 2 passed by Mescalaxos, that stood on a little hill; and a short time after crossed another river called Comon: from that place the outlet of the Nile from the lake is S. S. W. At 2¾ set out from our resting place S. by W. At 3¼ crossed a large river that had little water, but it was clear, called ——. At 4½ rested in the large valley (vallone) beneath Bamba. At 5 took the road, and landed at Bamba at 5½ o'clock. The sum of the day's journey 8½ hours, valued at 18 miles.

Wednesday, 31st October. On this day we have found Ras Fasil encamped in the valley, in which we rested, the last time, yesterday. The Ras had arrived here about 7 o'clock last evening, and remained the whole night. In the morning he has received us with favour, has made me a present of a horse, and given us a man called Shalaka Woldo to guide us in our journey to the fountains.

At 10½ A. M. set out S. b W. At 11¼ rested at the river Sorghi, which runs S. W. and N. E. At 12 crossed the river of Dingleber, which runs in the direction of the preceding. At 1¼ arrived at the church at Dingleber, at the house of the Ras (Fasil). In this place the lake is ¼ of a mile distant, but it is the bottom of the gulf; for, from 11 o'clock yesterday, it has always been about two miles from us, and we have fallen in with it here again at Dingleber. From Dingleber are seen Emfras, bearing E. b N. Dara, E. S. E. Dek, E. b S.; the Nile coming out of the lake S. E. b S. Gondar N. E. Amidamid mountains S. E. Sacchala S. b E. Guesgue S. S. W.

quale casca un rio; e a sinistra, piu lontanta è altra montagna a 2 miglia E. (e un altro rio piu grande) chiamata Ligiambra. Piu lontana è la montagna Amidamid, tutte nella stessa direzione. Li due ultimie rii sono Davola. A 11 siamo circa al somma della montagna. Nostro corso e S. b. E. e abbiamo passato a canto la chiesa di Mariam. A $11\frac{1}{4}$, per S. S. E. siamo sopra la montagna. Tutto il paese alla destra e al S. W. e Saccala. La chiesa di Mariam Nett sopra il rio Abaj resta per S. a 4 miglia $\frac{1}{2}$. A $11\frac{3}{4}$ discendendo nel vallone, traversato il rio Chebezza. Viene di E. A 8 minuti piu abbiamo passato un grosso torrente rapido che si chiamo Gugheri. A $12\frac{1}{4}$ riposato nel mezzo del vallone sopra una piccola colle dove si tiene un bazzara, il Sabato. A $1\frac{1}{4}$ Salpato. La chiesa sopra le fontane resta Sud. *A* $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Siamo arrivato sopra le fontane.*

This journal of the 4th November is copied from the original sketch made by Balugani as he advanced. The finished journal has a few variations, or rather corrections. For instance, in the last entry it stands*, "A 3 siamo arrivato alla chiesa di San Michele sopra le fontane, e à $\frac{1}{8}$ migl. per S. W. b S. discendendo nel vallone si trovano le fontane del Nilo. Siamo dato fondo nel vallone chiamato Assua, a $\frac{1}{2}$ migl. piu al S. S. E. delle suddette fontane. 6 ore = miglie.

Somma delle miglia di camino che vi sono di Gonder alle fontane del Nilo, in tutto 111 miglia incirca.

Le fontane del Nilo sono 3, una di esse aura 4 palmi di diametro in circa, ma è tutta ripiena di giunchi, e non mostra nè sua profondita, nè sua justa estensione, non essendo possibile di introdurvi nessuna sonda.

La seconda sara lontana dalla prima 5 passi, al S. poco W. ed avra 12 polici di diametro nella bocca, ma nell' interiore sara circa 4 palmi e profonda piedi 8.3 polici. La terza sara lontana 12 passi dalla prima per S. S. W.; sua bocca e alquanto piu ampia dalla seconda, ma non tiene che 5 piedi e 8 polici di profondità. La prima essendo la piu bassa, le aque si vedono al livello della terra, ma nelle altre due, essendo il terreno alquanto rilevato l'aqua resta 8 polici in circa piu abasso che il livello di sua bocca. Tutte le tre si vedono bensi bollire, ma tanto impercettibilimente che appena con grande attentione si puo ricognoscere; e falso

* The translation following this extract begins here.

è cio che alcuni dicono quando dicono che sortono con strepito dalla terra rilevandosi sopra d'essa.

Tutto questo luogo vicino alle fontane non produce che erba e giunchi, alberi non si ritrovano almeno alla distanza di ½ miglio per ogni parte.

Alli 5. Novembre altura del Sole gradi, 63. 15. Alli 6. Novembre altura del Sole, 62. 56. 30.

Latitudine delle Fontane, gradi, 10. 58. 58. Le sorse del Nilo sono situate nel paese d'Agow in una provincia chiamata Sakalla. Sono situate in un piccolo vallone a basso della montagna di Ghessh per E. N. E.; dalle fontane al sommo della montagna vi saranno 2½ miglia vicino a 3. Sopra le fontane a ⅛ de miglio di distanza di esse per N. E. b N. vi è una chiesa nel sommo di una collina chiamata Cadus Michele sopra le fontane.

Sortendo il Nilo dagli sui fonti prende la direzione per E. per ¼ di miglio. Indi gira per N. E. per altro ½ miglio sempre nel mezzo di un Vallone senza alberi ne arbusti altro che erba e giunchi, e in tutto questo spazio non apparisce correre di nessuna maniera, ma siccome il luogo e assai piano si spande e lascia tutto il terreno intorno paludoso e stagnante. Di qui comincia a correre N. ed in breve tempo si fa rapidissimo, e continva correre per N. E. e N. sotto la montagna ove è la chiesa di Mariam Nett per lo spazio di uno miglio. Indi corre per N. W. un miglio in circa: In questo luogo all' incirca è il luogo ove si passa l'Abaj per andare a Gonder venendo dalle fontane; e la chiesa sara ad ¼ miglio di distanza per E. dal detto passaggio. Doppo aver corso il suddetto miglio per N. W. si gira per W. e doppo per S. W. poi per S. S. W. poi per S. sempre ritrocedendo verso le sue fontane in tutto questo corso. Ultimo di dove comincia andare per W. fino che va per Sud sara circa 4 miglia e ½. In questo luogo passa infra due montagne e comincia a rit rocedere per andare a basso per la strada di W.—N. W.—N. &c. finche va a traversare il lago, in un angolo di esso, passa vicino a Dara e rimontando per S. fa il giro di Gojam, e doppo questo viene abasso. Due miglia primo de arrivare nel luogo dove sciambia suo corso riguardando verso le fontane si vedono tre piccoli rii, uno de quali viene dell' E. altro del S. E. e altro del S. S. E.; li due primi tengono sua origine al N. E. della chiesa di San Michele Ghissh a ⅛ di miglio di distanza

poco meno. Il primo d'essi corre circa parallelo al Nilo ricevendo a ½ miglio di suo corso il secondo e doppo 3 miglia in circa, riceve il terzo, ed un miglio ½ in circa doppo questo si scarica nel Nilo. Il Nilo in questo luogo comincia ad ingrossare, per che riceve altri piccoli rii che vengono del N. e del W.

Dalla sommità della Montagna di Ghissh si scoprono li paesi per li punti sequenti.

Accieffer al N. 2. giorni. [On our right as we passed the Kelti; this is its situation. *Mr Bruce's Note.*]

Bangia, N. W. b. W. 1 giorno.

La montagna di Zighem, per N. b E. e S. b. W. 1 giorno ½.

Sangalla N. W. b N.

Ajamico, W. N. W. [Metakel.]

Burri, S. W. 1 giorno lungo, si estende N. b W.

Sakalla, N. W. 3 ore doppo Danguia.

Damut Sakalla, S. E. b S. le montagne vanno per N. E. b E. e S. W b W. a 4 giornate di camino.

Gaffat, per S. b W.

La montagna Amidamid, per N. E. b E. abasso dessa pel li stessi punti vi è la Meccia. Vanno per S. S. E. e N. N. W. a un gran giorno.

Gojam, per S. E. by S.

Il piccolo lago di Assua per sud.

Mecciakel per S. a 2 giorni grandi, 48 miglia.

Seghizna, la riviera viene di S. b. W. e suo corso e S. E. a 3 miglia di distanza.

Gonder, per N.

Ibaba, per N. E. b N.

Le fontane sono per E. N. E. a 2 miglia ½ poco piu le due chiese restono una per l'altra N. N. E. e S. S. W.

Della Chiesa di S. Michele Ghissh si scoprono li paesi per li punti seguenti, e quelli che non si scoprono si è presa la direzione.

La chiesa di Mariam Nett per N. N. E. circa 2 miglia. Le fontane per S. W. b S. La montagna di Ghissh S. W. b W. Assua per S. S. E. at 1½ miglio. Mecciakel e Gaffatt per S. E. b S. fino S. S. W. Burri, S. W. b S. Ibaba, per N. E. Dara, per N. E. Gonder, per N. b E.

Dinghelber, per N. N. W. Damut prende di S. E. b S. fino al E. N. E. Amidamid, per E. Bangia, per W. N. W. Guesghi, per N. W. Cuara e per lo stesso punto. Agau S. W. li paesi d'Agau, di Metakel, di Kelti, e Acheffer fanno un semicercolo. Il luogho dove abbiamo passato l'Abaj a Gutta resta per N. Affermasha e Ligiambra, per E. Litch, per E. S. E.

TRANSLATION *from the words,* " A 3 siamo arrivato," &c.

AT three o'clock we have arrived at the church of St Michael, above the sources; and at $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile, descending from this into the plain, are found *the fountains of the Nile.* We have halted in the valley (or plain) called Assua, half a mile to the S. S. E. of these fountains. Our journey to day has been six hours, computed at 12 miles.

The sum of the whole way, from Gondar to the fountains of the Nile, is about 111 miles.

The fountains of the Nile are three. One of them * *will be* 4 palms in diameter; but it is all full of rushes, and shews neither its depth nor true extent, it not being possible to introduce into it any sounding instrument.

The second will be 5 paces distant from the first to the south, a little west; and will be about 12 inches diameter at the mouth, but within about 4 palms, and it is 8 feet 3 inches deep.

The third will be 12 paces distant from the first, to S. S. W.; its mouth is somewhat larger than that of the second, but it is only 5 feet 8 inches deep. The first being the lowest, the water is seen at the level of the earth; but in the other two, the ground being a little raised, the water remains about 8 inches lower than the level of the mouth. All the three may be observed to spring (the word bollire signifies to boil or bubble), but so imperceptibly that it can scarcely be discerned by great attention; and it is false what is said by some, that they spring with a noise out of the ground, rising above it.

All this place near the fountains produces only grass and rushes; trees are not found, to the distance at least of $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile on every side.

On the 5th Nov. the sun's altitude was 63. 15. On the 6th Nov. found to be 62. 56. 30.

The latitude of the fountains is 10. 58. 58. The sources of the Nile are found in the Agow country, in a province called Sacchala. They are situated in a little valley at the foot of the mountain of Gheesh, by E. N. E. From the fountains to the top of the mountain will be $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, nearly 3. Above the fountains, about $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile distant from them, by N. E. b N. is a church, on the top of a hill, called Kedus Michael, over the fountains. The Nile, rising out of its springs, takes a direction east for a quarter of a mile. Then it turns about to

* This expression is literal, and might be exchanged for *is;* though computation be in some cases understood.

north-east for another half mile, always in the middle of a plain (vallone), without trees or shrubs, excepting grass and rushes; and in all that space it does not appear to run; but as the earth is very flat, it spreads, and leaves the ground about, marshy, and (in) stagnant (water). From this it begins to run north, and in a short time becomes very rapid, and continues to flow by north-east and north, under the mountain, on which is the church of Mariam Nett, for the space of a mile. Thence it runs north-west about a mile. About that part is the place where they pass the Abay, to go to Gondar, coming from the fountains, and the church will be a $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the east, distant from this passage. After having run the forementioned mile north-west, it turns about west, and a little after south-west, then south south-west, then south, always retreating backwards towards its sources in all that course. From the place where it begins to go west till it runs south will about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. In this last place it passes between two mountains, and begins to retreat, by going down by the way of west, north-west, north, &c. until it comes to cross the lake in an angle of it; it (then) passes near to Dara, and returning south makes the circle of Gojam, after which it descends (towards the north).

Two miles before arriving at the place where it changes its course reverting towards its sources, are seen three small streams, one of which comes from the east, another from the south-east, and another from the south south-east; the two first of these arise to the north-east of the church of St Michael Gheesh, about somewhat less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile's distance. The first of these runs nearly parallel to the Nile, receiving about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from its source the second, and then about 3 miles after the third; and about a mile and a half after that discharges itself into the Nile. The Nile in that place begins to grow large; because it receives there other small streams which come from the north and west.

From the top of the mountain of Gheesh are discovered, by the following points of the compass, Atcheffer, 2 days journey distant N. Banja, N. W. b W. one day distant. The mountains of Zeegam, N. b E. and S. b W. $1\frac{1}{2}$ day's journey off. The Shangalla country, N. W. b W. Ayamico, W. N. W. or Metakel. Bure, S. W. one long day. It extends N. b W. Sacchala, N. W.; three hours afterwards Denguia. Damut Sachalla, S. E. b S. the mountains run N. E. b E. and S. W. b W. 4 days journey distant. Gafat, S. b W. The mountain Amidamid, N. E. b E. below, that is, northward of it. By the same point is Maitsha. They extend S. S. E. and N. N. W. a long day's journey. Gojam S. E. b S. The little lake of Assoa S. Metchakel S. two long days or 48 miles. Seghizna, the river comes S. b W. and runs S. E. three miles distant. Gondar N. Ibaba N. E. b N. The fountains bear E. N. E. somewhat less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant. The two churches bear to one another N. N. E. and S. S. W.

This account of the fountains was written in the Journal by Balugani in the evening of the 5th November, and is an extension, with a few

variations, of that made upon the spot. They sounded the fountains for the first time on that day, which he marks on the rude sketch he held in his hand thus: "Si sono sondate le fontane: la piu grande tiene tanti gunchi che non si poteva. La piu vicina a questa era profonda Piedi 8. 3. la piu lontana era Piedi 5. 8.—fra questa e la prima vi saranno 18 piedi di distanza." The fountains have been sounded; the largest has so many rushes, that it could not be done; the nearest to that was 8 feet 3 inches deep; the most distant from it F. 5. 8. Between these and the first will be 18 feet distance.

On the 9th of November, Mr Bruce sounded the springs again, and retraced the course of the river. The result of this last examination was set down by himself in his own common-place or pocket-book, nearly in the words of the printed work; and this accounts for some difference which appears between the two narratives. It is likewise to be remarked, that, in composing his work, he always follows his own separate journals, made in the form of pocket-books, rather than the larger register kept by his assistant. This he was induced to do, chiefly on account of the one being restricted to geographical and topical matters; while the other contained more extensive views and observations relative to the different subjects.

After this account of the sources, the Journal proceeds: Al luogho delle fontane del Nilo siamo restati cinque giorni interi, non computato il giorno di nostro arrivo, ne di nostra partenza, che e stato il Sabato 10 di Novembre.

Le 10, Sabato, Salpato di Sakalla e tenuto la medesima strada di prima, &c. &c.

"At the place of the fountains of the Nile we have remained five whole days, not computing the day of our arrival nor of our departure, which is Saturday the 10th of November.

"Saturday, 10, set out from Saccala, by the same route as we came, &c. &c."

The rest of the journal is kept in this minute manner till they came to Gondar, Monday, one o'clock, P. M. 19th November. They pitched at Dembick on the night of the 10; set out at 7h. 20m. in the morning of the 11th, and at 1h. 45m. P. M. landed at Welled abea Abbo (called

in the Journal Wolabi Abbo), in the house of Welled Amlac. They left Welled abea Abbo next morning, which is entered in these words: Lunedi, 12 Nov. Siamo sortito della casa di Weld Amlak servitore di Aito Aylo, a 8 ore, per N. &c. We have left the house of Welled Amlak, servant of Ayto Aylo, at 8 o'clock, travelling N. &c.

The sum of the days journies, from the time of their setting out from Gondar till their arrival at Gheesh, is computed in the journals as follows: From Gondar to Kemona, $6\frac{1}{4}$ hours; 14 miles. From Kemona to Bababaha, $5\frac{3}{4}$ hours = 12 miles. From thence to Bamba, $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours, = 18 miles. From Bamba to Dinghleber $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, = 7 miles. From Dinghleber to the Kelti, $10\frac{3}{4}$ hours, = 22 miles. From the Kelti to Goutta, 7 hours, = 14 miles. From Goutta to the little village of Adowa, $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours, about 12 miles. From Adowa to Assoa, or the fountains, 6 hours, = 12 miles. In all 111 miles. The sum of the stages, on return, is computed at 93 miles, the difference being 8. The reason of the shortness of some of these stages the reader must have observed in the narrative.

The journal from Masuah to Gondar is similar to that which has been described. The computed lengths of the stages were, however, thought by Mr Bruce to be over-rated; and after entering a note to that effect in the end of it, he appears to have trusted chiefly to his celestial observations in the construction of the map. The following table is found in the folio volume containing his weather Journal.

Measures of the elevation above the level of the sea in different parts of Abyssinia. The level taken at Masuah.

At Masuah, by the mean of 41 observations, barometer 25. 6. 2.

	Barom.	Difference.	Diff. of elevation in Eng. miles.	Feet.
Masuah, - - -	25 6 2	4 5 0	0	4664
Dixan, - - -	21 1 2			
Addua, by a mean, - -	22 3 1	3 3 1	0	3441
Dippebahar, foot of Lamalmon,	21 3 9	4 2 3	0	4427
On Lamalmon, - -	19 8 8	5 9 4	1	827

No. XLVI.

Extracts from Mr Bruce's Journals and MSS. relating to his Travels in Abyssinia and Nubia.

PART II.

*Detached Articles from the several Journals and Common-place Books, containing additional information respecting Abyssinia *.*

Yasous Tallack (the Great) subdued Lasta, and obliged it to pay 1000 ounces of gold per annum in tribute. It continued to pay till the war between Mariam Barea and Ras Michael, when each pretending to it, it became independant, and continues so at this present day, April 1770.

Harar is four days journey from Shoa, and seven from Aussa. It is farther inland, and a plain country. The chief has the title of Emir; and is frequently at war with Amha Yasous in Shoa, who is independant. The people are all Mahometans, called Turks by the Abyssinians.

Gold is found in the Shangalla's country in small lumps, is by them put into quills, and carried to Damot fair. This, at least, was the ancient custom when these barbarians sold their gold as necessity required. Since that time they have got scales and weights, and know, in general, the value.—The Agows are the purchasers, and adulterate it with silver; one ounce to ten of gold, which gives it a very pale colour.

N. B This observation is sufficiently confirmed by the colour of those links that still remain of the honorary gold chain conferred on Mr Bruce by the king of Abyssinia. These links are of a paler hue than a com-

* The Paragraphs marked with N. B. by the Editor.

mon guinea, rather coarsely made, and unpolished. Gold chains, called in Habbesh sunsulé, are a mark of dignity bestowed by the sovereign on the most meritorious persons in his army. It is usual to give a splendid suit of clothes at the same time, an Egyptian and Persian custom; vide Genesis, xli. 42. and Esther, viii. 15.

Wechne, in Belessen, is about 34 or 35 miles, a long day's journey from Emfras. There is paid, to maintain the royal family on the mountain, 250 ounces gold, and 730 cloths (this means webs of cotton cloth, called shuma). This is an old establishment. None are permitted to go up but the women carrying water. There was formerly a cistern, but it is now in ruins, and useless. There are near 300 persons there; and all the exiles are allowed to marry. Bacuffa escaped by help of his sister.

Extreme unction is unknown in Abyssinia; that is, the anointing with oil. However, when a person is attacked with sickness, which threatens death, he often puts on a monk's hood, as a token that, in case of recovery, he will abandon the world, and then receives the last sacrament, or rather he does so before putting it on; and it is generally the custom to distribute all his moveables to the churches, which the priests appropriate. These are traces of extreme unction. The great men often renounce the hood, and return to their former life.

N. B. The Abyssinian MS. histories are full of these instances, in which the great men, when disappointed in politics, retire to Waldubba, or other deserts, to live as monks. The distribution of goods and money made by the kings, when sick, to the churches, occurs in almost every reign. Before Yasous II. died, the Chronicle says, that he had given away every thing he had, in this way, except the crown on his head. When Joas was proclaimed, the Iteghe his grandmother wished to give a present to the poor, as usual at the beginning of a reign; which she could not do, until one of the nobles supplied her with a sum of money. There were only a few derims left in the treasury.

Abyssinian Harvests. They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains in June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the

rains after. In September they sow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they sow barley, or fitches, again in January. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is seed-time, and harvest, and plowing, in every month in the year; water being easily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one-tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harvest, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they sometimes, nay, very often, scarce reap the seed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats and innumerable ants, that consume their corn at different, nay at all periods of its growth. All their five harvests do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the several villages, living, in general, is very miserable; and, in general, people of consideration scarcely know any other diet than teff bread and bouza. Whether this teff is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of master and servant.

Abyssinian Dress. The principal part of the dress of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 24 peek (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow stripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not dyed; but the Surat blue cloths are unrivalled, and woven for this purpose; and the yellow they dye with sûf, the yellow thistle. The best for ordinary wear costs 10 salts, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ pataka, about 6s. 6d. English. It is called Kuara, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dress are breeches, which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better sort have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and silk, or worsted coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their stirrups between their great and second toes. Even the king rides bare-footed; and being used chiefly to mules, they are far inferior horsemen to the Arabs.

Price of Gold. Gold, at a medium, sells for 10 pataka each wakea; or 10 derims, salt, at a medium 8 per pataka. The piece (of salt), speaking of identically, is called Kourman, but in estimation, or such a thing costs so many salts, they are called Amooli. These are the ordinary currency for the necessaries of life. For considerable purchases, gold is used; and there is great loss in cutting the wakea into derims, at least

one in ten. The gold is got by washing the earth in water, in wooden dishes. The grains that remain behind are put into a quill, melted down, and alloyed, probably by the Shangalla; for it is pale, and is never brought to market in its first form, but melted down into small rods, or ingots. In Joas's time a wakea was valued only at 8 patakas. Yasous Tanush, or the II. turned round, and reduced the Sennaar Shangalla; but they are now quite independant of Habbesh. Their fair is held at Buré in Damot.

Weights and Measures. The wakea (or ounce), in Abyssinia, is considered as 10 derims, or drams, and 12 ounces make a litir, or rotal (pound). At Gondar, the capital of all Abyssinia, the wakea is 6 drams, 40 grains, Troy weight English, and divided into 10 drams of 40 grains. The small money is salt bricks, dug out of the mines at Dancali, near the myrrh country. Every wakea, in ordinary times, gives from 72 to 76 salts. In 1769, the wakea was 80 salts, and June 15th 1771, the wakea sold at 34, but there was a great difference in the size of the bricks. These are little or not at all liable to waste, as M. Montesquieu supposes. Abyssinian gold at Mocha is 15 or 16 patakas when the Sennaar gold is 22, because the Agows, &c. alloy it with silver.

At Masuah, the current money is the Venetian sequin, the pataka, or queen's dollar, and half-dollars. For small money are used grains of glass, called borjook, three of which make a chebir (Vid. Travels, Book V. Chap. ii.)

Corn sold at Masuah for four patakas the ardep, which contains about 24 measures of the country. Coffee, six rotol per pataka, sometimes ten, or even 15 rotol. Honey, four cuba for a pataka, each cuba about two rotol, or somewhat less. Butter, 20 rotol, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ pataka, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ harf. Civet, $1\frac{1}{4}$ pataka the wakea. Wax, 4 patt. the faranzola. Elephants teeth, 35 rotol for 18 patt. Water, $1\frac{1}{2}$ paras the smallest jar, and 3 paras the largest. Abyssinian gold dust, 15 patt. per wakea, at Mocha. Dora, 12 measures for a pataka. The Venetian sequin goes for $2\frac{1}{4}$ patakas.

The Abyssinian grain measure is the ardeb, which, at Gondar, contains 10 measures, called Madega, each equal to 12 ounces, Cairo weight. An ardeb of grain costs 2 derims, or 2 patakas; an ardeb of teff, the same; 6 or 8 ardebs of tocusso pay an ounce (wakea) of gold, or 10 derims.

*Servants Wages at Gondar**. At Gondar a maid-servant receives 15 salts per annum, and is fed in the house. A man-servant is paid 4 pataka yearly, which correspond to 4 wakea, or ounces of gold, Abyssinian weight, and receives besides two loaves, or cakes of teff, for his support daily. If his master is good, he sometimes gives him a little flesh, lentils, or vetches. He is not obliged to clothe him, but he sometimes gives him a pair of trowsers, which consist of about one-fourth of a yard of white cloth.

With respect to carriage, &c. three bundles of wood, which are brought from Tchagassa, three hours walking, cost a salt. The carriage of a jar, or manteca, full of wine, or honey, from Emfras, eight hours journey, pays a salt, of the weight of 3 faranzala, or so.

Thirty-three teff bread cost a salt; the loaves are about three lines thick, and 18 inches diameter. A pair of shoes (pantufle) cost a salt. $8\frac{1}{4}$ peeks of cloth is the least gift that can be offered in the country.

Bouza. Manner in which the Abyssinians make a kind of beer, that, in their language, is called bouza.

To make this, they use tocusso simply; but sometimes they mix it with grain (wheat), or dora, or all three together; but in ordinary tocusso is best. A jar of tocusso, or of the three sorts of grain, contains as much as is sufficient to make two loaves, that are a tenth part of the whole jar; besides which, they use about half a rotol of Ghesh loaves.

The first part of the process is to grind the tocusso, after which they take a fourth part of it, and knead it with water and leaven, as if to make bread. This they put in a jar to ferment for two days, at the end of which they make a good many thin large cakes, and dry them on the fire till they become as hard as a stone, then break them down into crumbs, and put them in a large vessel full of water, capable of holding six times the volume of the grain; or for one jar of grain, the vessel holds five of water, and one for the quantity of grain. At the same time that they put in the bruised bread, as above-mentioned, into that quan-

* From this to the words "Koscam is the richest," &c. translated from the papers of Balugani, and from the small Chronicle described in the Appendix No. XLIII. by the Editor.

tity of water, the other things should be got ready to go in also. The grain ought to be fermented for two days, then dried in the sun, and afterwards ground into meal. The Ghesh leaves are ground likewise. The remainder of the meal, or those three-fourths that were not used to make the bread, must be put into a hollow oven, over a fire, with a small quantity of water, and constantly stirred with a stick, until it become a paste; and when the water is dried up, more is put in, constantly stirring the mass until it become black like a coal. The whole so prepared, the crumbs, the mass, and the leaves, are put together into the large jar, and let alone for a day, after which it is poured off, and preserved in jars well stopped. At the end of seven or eight days this liquor begins to be too strong, and is best when fresh, two or three days old.

Marriage. Marriage is not considered in Abyssinia as a sacrament, yet the church ordains some rules to be observed, in order that the man and the woman may be faithful towards one another. The ordinary method of marriage among people of condition, and among those who most fear God, is the following: The man, when he resolves to marry a girl, sends some person to her father to ask his daughter in marriage. It seldom happens that she is refused; and when she is granted, the future husband is called into the girl's house, and an oath is taken reciprocally by the parties, that they will maintain due fidelity to one another. Then the father of the bride presents to the bridegroom the fortune that he will give: it consists of a particular sum of gold, some oxen, sheep, or horses, &c. according to the circumstances of the people. Then the bridegroom is obliged to find surety for the said goods; which is some one of his friends that presents himself, and becomes answerable for him in case he should wish to dismiss his wife, and be not able, through dissipation, or otherwise, to restore all that he has gotten.

Further, at the time when they display the fortune of the bride, the husband is obliged to promise a certain sum of money, or an equivalent in effects, to his wife, in case he should choose to abandon her, or separate himself from her. This must also be confirmed by an oath of the future husband, and of his surety. A certain time, of twenty or thirty days, is determined also by a reciprocal oath, that on the last of these they will go together to church, and receive the sacrament. When all

these matters are concluded, the future spouse appoints the marriage-day, and then returns home. When that day arrives, the intended husband goes again to his bride's house, where she appears, and shews him her moveables (mobiglia), or clothes; and he must promise and swear a-new the fore-mentioned articles; and that he will use his wife well; never leave her without meat or clothing; keep her in a good house, &c. all which his surety must confirm. When this is over, the bridegroom takes his lady on his shoulders, and carries her off to his house. If it be at a distance, he does the same thing, but only goes entirely round about the bride's house; then sets her down, and returns her into it. After this ceremony, a solemn banquet takes place, consisting of raw beef and bread, and honey-wine, or hydromel, or another beverage from grain, called bouza, a sort of beer very sour and disgusting. The feast being ended, the parties mount each a mule, and ride to the bridegroom's house, where is concluded all the ceremony necessary to marriage before they live together. When they have lived together during the appointed term of twenty or thirty days, they must both appear at church, and declare before the priest that they are husband and wife, and that they are come to receive the sacrament. The priest, without more ado, celebrates mass; they communicate, and return home.

After some time, although both have sworn to live all their life faithful to one another, they take the liberty to separate; if it is the husband who wishes to get off, he, or his surety, must pay the wife that which she brought, and likewise the sum stipulated in case of separation. If they have had children, the boys always go with the mother, even if there were but an only child; if there be no boys, she takes none of the girls. When the separation comes from the lady, the husband is liable to no restitution, provided he has been always faithful to the married state, as promised; but if it is on account of his bad conduct, or irregular life, that she forms this resolution, he is always subject to his promise and the above-mentioned articles.

It sometimes happens that the husband and wife, mutually, without any cause of ill-will, agree to part; in this case, the effects brought by the wife are united with the sum stipulated by the husband; then divid-

ed into equal shares, of which the parties take each one, and return to their former places of abode.

This is the established form of those marriages which are said to be celebrated justly, and according to the church. But, with regard to inferior people, these seldom take place; in proof of which I can mention what a person of credit asserted, who had lived twenty-five years in this country. He affirmed, that in all that time he had not seen, nor known, of a marriage at the church, in the places where he lived, except one single instance. I may add to his the testimony of a priest in Tigre, who swore solemnly, that in all Addua, the capital of that province, he was the only man who was married according to the church, that is, in the fore-mentioned manner.

The ordinary way of marrying is this: When two persons ****. Here the MS. breaks off; L. Balugani having been either interrupted, or weary of the subject. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the manner in which the bulk of a nation, very little influenced by Christianity, perform one of the most essential ceremonies in life. His account of the marriage of the church is confirmed by Gregory of Hagara-Christos, in Ludolph's Abyssinian History and Commentary.

It may be gathered from various hints in Mr Bruce's papers, that the Abyssinian peasants and soldiers marry in a few minutes. No settlement, portion, or surety, being necessary, they eat an ox, or two or three sheep raw; the favourite method of cutting pieces from them, while alive, being preferred; a great deal of bouza is drunk on the occasion; dancing, shouting, and various kinds of licentiousness, are practised; if a priest be near, he sprinkles them with holy water, and repeats a hallelujah. The company join in the benediction; and no delicacy of manners constrains either the parties, or the guests. The bride does not appear abroad till about ten days after her marriage. These connections are easily dissolved; but the king's judges, and the governors of provinces, take care that the children shall be maintained by their parents, or others. Judgment is given in all matters by the civil courts; nothing being left to the clergy but the decision of matters fixed by the canons (kanoun), or positive law of the church.

The sons of the royal family confined in Wechne are allowed to marry, but it is only by connivance. No persons of rank give their daughters to these exiles. On the other hand, the Ozoros, or princesses, are given away to every great man in the kingdom, and their marriages and divorces are scandalously frequent. The ceremony at the marriage of a prince, or princess, is as follows*: The match having been settled previously, according to the views of the court, preparations are made for the festival, which is generally held during the rainy season, while the country is secure and abandoned to pleasure. The king being seated on the throne, in the large hall of audience, the parties are introduced before him, with their respective attendants. After kissing his hand, they are all magnificently clothed in dresses of brocade, or other rich stuffs, with presents of knives, &c. corresponding to their habits. The crown is sometimes set on their heads; they receive the benediction of the kees hatse, or king's almoner; after which they retire clothed with the caftan, and mount horses given them by the king, on which they ride in great state, in the midst of acclamations of joy and prosperity, to the house of the bridegroom. A banquet, or dinner, is prepared there; in the course of which, many oxen are slaughtered at the door, in order to furnish *brind*, which is served up, reeking from the animal. Deep drinking then commences; in which the ladies and gentlemen indulge together to a degree incredible, because it is unknown in Europe. These marriages are, by no means, permanent: Many of the Ozoros, who always rule their husbands, marry as often as they please; dissolving the marriage preceding, at the dictates of convenience or fancy. But notwithstanding the general licentiousness, there are found several faithful wives and mothers, who are content to deviate from the common example.

When any of the king's children dies, it is the custom to hang the audience-chamber with tapestry and curtains, and spread carpets on the floor. The king, having entered, sits on the throne, and the *iteagerd*, a set of professed mourners of the female sex, along with the nobles and household servants, attend. One of the licaonte, a priest, reads over

* Introd. to the small MS. Chronicle.

a list of the former kings with great solemnity, adding, after every name, " May the Lord have mercy on his soul, even to the fifth generation." The assembly reply, " Amen, ycoune, so let it be." At last he says, " Greatly may the Lord have mercy on the soul of ***, who died this day;" on which the Ozoros and their women, the mourners, the household, and the nobles, all set up a loud and general cry of lamentation, and weep for some time. If the person has died in the camp, or city, the coffin is brought before the king, but if not, he performs the ceremony without it. It is afterwards carried out with sendic and nagareet, and buried by the Betwudet, or Billetana-gueta dakakin, in the manner which shall be afterwards mentioned.

Koscam* is the richest church in Abyssinia; it is situated on the banks of Kahha, below a ruinous palace, or house, of the king. There are about 40 houses in the village, all belonging to the principal Kuaragna, the party of the queen. All the Kuaragna, Eshte, Eusebius, and the rest, had their troops drawn up to attack Michael when called to Gondar by Joas, at the advice of Lubo. They designed to engage him on the Angrab, but failed completely. The residing people at Koscam, after Joas's death, were in great fear of Michael, and wore a hood, or cowl, like the monks. Gondar is $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, perhaps 3, at its greatest length, and no where above a mile broad. The palace is in the centre. Below the town, on the S. W. at the conflux of the Angrab and Kahha, is the Mahometan town. These rivers inclose the town on its N. and S. sides, and join on the W. On the S. E. part of it is the church of Debra-berhan. On the N. E. is Kedus Gabriel. Two suburbs above Kedus Gabriel, is Anta Naggar, the hill, where, till Yasous's time, the Tigre, in consequence of a proclamation, were obliged to halt, and not allowed to enter Gondar.

In Abyssinia there remains not a shadow of the hospitality, which is said to be a trait in the character of barbarous nations.

They divide the day into five parts (humisi). From the twilight, which is here short, it is nagga; about nine it is called selest, or the third hour; mid-day is kutter; three o'clock, tessaat; and sun-set, serk.

* From this to the end, wholly in the words of Mr Bruce.

They judge by the height of the sun, having neither clocks nor watches. The other hours mentioned in their books are counted 1, 2, 3, &c. after dawn, sun-rise, or sun-set.

There are two kinds of monarchy; one is absolute, where there are no written laws, but the will of the prince carried into effect by his command and force; another is, where there are laws and restraints, but these occasionally broken through. The Abyssinian government is neither of those. There are no laws: the lives of the king's subjects and their lands are *de jure* his; he is absolute and sole master of their lives and property: Yet he has no military force; this is all in the hands of the governors of provinces, whose safety lies in keeping the prince in want of every thing. It is a monstrous kind of monarchy, and to this are owing the continual wars and rebellions. While the districts were small, these were prevented; but minorities, weak reigns, &c. have united them into great ones, each of which are more than a match for the sovereign; indeed the forty-four nagareets of Tigre united, are more than a match for all Abyssinia. Damot and Agow-midre, joined to Maitsha, when they please, starve the capital, and leave the king not only without army and provisions, but even meat and clothes for himself. The Turkish and Galla wars have accelerated this state of affairs. Each of the governments have become a kind of fiefs, very rarely not granted to the family of the deceased, and that one of it mostly likely to be serviceable.

King's Household. The Serachmasery is Yesous Alaka*; he anoints the king at the coronation, and has ten ounces of gold for his salary. The Licaonte vote standing before the King and the Ras, but before the Billetana-gueta dakakin, and other meconem, sitting. Four licaonte and four azajes only vote before the king. The Palambaras was of old, in Tigre, called Lik sof. The Baal-magwass goes immediately before the king, dressed as the king, and his face, as the king's, half-covered. All his actions are imputed to the king; and when he kills an enemy in fight, it is said the king killed him. Shalaka are the heads of the king's soldiers, who are called by respective names, as Gimja-bet, Werk-saccala,

* A church within, or near the palace.

&c. Azaje are officers over the king's household and revenues. The servants of the Licaonte are called Firaje and Baalheg; they vote with the Licaonte, and before them in civil causes. Rakmasery is superintendant of the bread, and the Shum mes of the wine, or hydromel. The Tersemba Azaje is the judge, or, as it is called, Dabna of the Wezizir, or nobles; Dimshas is an officer under him. Of the officers called Hadug, there are two; these are the king's wakeels, in the Abuna's house, and have one-third of his revenues.

Gera and Kanya wust-Azaje. He is the person, who, in capital crimes, accuses for the king; and is always one of the Licaonte, the most remarkable for his experience and discernment. Debena-bet haits is the person that executes, by his servants, all criminals at Debabay; he has the guard there at night, and, about three in the morning, gives the signal of the approach of day to the officers of the king's house by about 30 smacks of a whip, to drive away the hyænas and beasts of prey, that come to Debabye, the place of execution, in search of carcases. He has also the right of sending expresses to Gondar of the king's victories, and brings with him the heads, pudenda, &c. of traitors, which are exposed on the tree at the place of execution; at which time the merchants, both Mahometan and Christian, give presents, which, on great occasions, amount to 10 wakeas from each Moslem, and the same from the Atary, or Christian merchants. The viceroy, or kasmati of Tigre, drinks out of a golden cup, as keeper of the law at Axum. There are 12 nagareets in Tigre, and forty-four persons are invested with the Ras-werk.

Church Affairs. The Abuna is appointed by proclamation of the king, and is deposed at his pleasure. He holds of no other person. He ordains priests and deacons within the kingdom, consecrates churches, altars (tabot), &c. His revenue was once very considerable, esteemed one third of the revenues of the kingdom; but as those princes, who made the grants, resided in Shoa, or in the south of Tigre, the principal lands are in those provinces, adjoining to the royal residence. Now, the southern provinces are all in the hands of the Galla, as well as part of Tigre, and the governor, or Ras, has assumed the rest; so that of 400 oz. of gold once paid by Tigre, the Abuna, in my time, got only twenty-five, one-third of which went to the king's wakeel in his house. The Abuna

appoints no officer, civil, or ecclesiastical; the king, or governor, does all. The king appoints officers, called Alaka, who administer in all cases the revenue of churches and convents; and this person is the judge of differences and suits among the priests and monks of his church, or fraternity, from whom lies no appeal but to the King, or to the Ras, who is understood to represent him. This Alaka is, or is not, a monk or priest, at the king's pleasure. Of those who are called monks, are the communities of Debra Libanos, or Azazo, as it is now called, Waldubba, Werkleva, Damo, Mahabar Selasse, &c. These live in villages in these places, and reside or not as they please. The rest of that name are those who are ordained on any illness, disappointment, or advanced in life. The monks are ordained by the Itchegue, the others by any ordinary priest. Neither take any vow. The women of Waldubba are of the first kind, and all women past pleasure compose the second. There are many instances of both orders renouncing and marrying.

All persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, are subject to the same laws, judgment, and tribunal, without exception, be the cause of whatever nature it may be. The Abuna, or Itchegue, have none of them a tribunal, nor can they take cognizance of any cause; especially the Abuna, who has, as I have said, an officer in his house appointed by the king, who punishes all persons by that authority, even those of the Abuna's family, without any sort of deference paid to him; and this, as appears by the judges, or king's records, is of very ancient standing. The king calls an assembly of the clergy when he pleases, generally with the advice of the Abuna, and there is none considered legal if he is not present, if in the kingdom.

Welled Hayrat (Ras Michael's son) was excommunicated for killing a refugee at the Abuna's feet, in consequence of which he confiscated the Abuna's villages in Tigre, nor was the curse ever taken off*. The Itchegue, or prior of the monks, if he be chosen a layman, must be ordained by the Abuna. He is named by the king, who nominates all su-

* The Abuna's house is a kind of sanctuary, in which criminals are protected from massacre, not from trial. They are sometimes tried there by the royal judges, or dragged from it to the tribunal.

periors of monasteries. The Lika-cahanat, or chief of the priests, is ordained by the Abuna and Itchegue, who both hold a corner of a scarf put upon him. He is an inquisitor of morals among the priests, and has so much salt and cloth from each district. A priest at his ordination pays three salts to the Abuna. He comes to the house of the latter, enters, and kisses the threshold. The Abuna, sitting on a sofa at one end of the room, reads the Scriptures to himself. Then having paid his salt, the person retires and kisses the threshold, returning without imposition of hands, or any ceremony. Old men are made priests, and young men deacons by a simple jussit. More probable accounts say, that there is only one salt paid, that the person stands at the door, while the Abuna, having made the sign of the cross, holding it in his hand, says, "I have ordained you a priest." The person then enters the room, kisses the cushion of the sofa and retires. Many are ordained that can neither read nor write.

The Abyssinians have an office for the dead; and worship pictures of saints, even such as are not consecrated. This we had an opportunity of seeing, every time we were obliged to draw some Madonna. All those that saw it, kissed the ground before it, with their foreheads on the earth. The principal revenue of the clergy is the presents made by those who are sick, or dying.

The dress of the Acab saat is a purple burnoose, with a white turban, not unlike the Turkish Imams, or a white handkerchief hanging loose behind. The Kees hatze is the king's official confessor, official Alaka of the church of Tecla-haimanout, and curator of the two churches of Gondar.

The Abuna's words of absolution, in a case of excommunication, is, "Gzier ephtac," God absolve thee.

Women, after having born a son, are excluded from the church 40 days, and if a daughter, 80. The really married are those who receive the sacrament on that occasion. Persons who have been connected with any woman, are excluded from church during three days; if that connection has been promiscuous, they are excluded seven; and then even admitted to receive the sacrament. If a man, really married, is guilty with another's wife, he is not debarred a longer period. Women in the

menses are not allowed to enter the church till seven days afterwards. Circumcision is performed on the eighth, and baptism is celebrated on the forty-first day of the child's age. On all the fore-mentioned occasions they only come within the inner precinct, and kiss the walls and door-posts of the church. The clergy are rigid in these matters, and that is, perhaps, one of the reasons why the churches are ill-attended. It is their only duty; the monks making no scruple of confessing that they cannot enter the church, for that day they had to do with a woman, which is not attended with any impeachment.

Geography and Revenue of Abyssinia. The Iteghe from Bure in two days arrived at Metchakel, in her way to Gojam: It may be about as far as from this (Gondar) to Caroota; I suppose from 30 to 32 miles at farthest. From Metchakel to Nazarit six days easy journey; from 10 to 12 miles, I suppose, *per diem.* Gojam here belongs to Ayto Aylo, son of Ozoro Welletta Israel. The Galla are Toluma. The Galla who border on Amhara are much the worst of all the Galla, and the least worst are the Edjow east of them, bordering upon Begemder and Angot, called Guangoul Galla. Those near Amhara are Wutchali, Woolo, Amito, and Toluma; and these Toluma come down to the Nile, and divide Walaka and Shoa from the Nile.

Agow-midre pays yearly to the king in all about 1000 ounces of gold, and 1000 dabras of honey, each dabra about 60 rotol. It pays also about 1000 or 1500 cattle. Ancasha, Azena, Quaquera, and Banja, pay their quota in honey; Banja, gold; Metchakel, Ayamico's country, gold; Zigam, gold, no honey. Danguiah, Dengla, and Saccala all are called Ancasha. Dengla pays chiefly cattle, and a large kind of sheep called Macoot. Butter is no part of the meery, but is brought as a present on paying the meery. After passing the Kelti, on the right, by the Bronti, is Atchefer, after that Quaquera, then Dengla, then Banja, then Metchakel. Temhua belongs to the Ras, and the revenue is paid to him. The first heavy stroke the Agow received of late years was Waragna, father of this Fasil, bringing Galla from beyond the Abay, and wasting their country entirely. He burnt the houses and churches, and led away captive the women and children. Under the mild government of Casmati

Ehste they began to revive, but now again under Fasil they are very low.

Metchakel is one long day's journey, I suppose 36 miles, from Boori (Bure); it is inhabited by Galla Djawi. After these are the Basso Gallo; and the Gooderoo Galla of Kasmati Boro. His place is called Hadis Amba. These border on Gojam, Damot, and Metchakel. Gafat is not one continued country, but villages here and there. Wumbarma is Gafat. Metchakel is, however, a much more considerable country. Beyond the Nile, west of Bure, the country for a considerable distance is dry, deserted, and uninhabited, the Galla living further into the territory. All the banks are there high, steep, and unwholesome, and full of trees. These Galla are Amoro Jidda. Guesgue belongs to the Iteghe, has a nagareet, and gives the title of Kasmati. It pays 1000 cloths, 50 oxen, and 100 wakeet.

The caravans of Egypt used to go from Aidab, or Gaidab, to Dahalac, in their way to Yemen, or Jidda, the port of Mecca. Souakin is seven days south of Gaidab.

The Galla, west of the Abay, say, that they are descended of a Gin or devil, and a woman of the tribe of Koreish. They are always at war with the Nareans, Abyssinians, or Mahometans. They reckon about 12,000 horse of Galla between the Nile and Narea. The tribes go every seventh year to the reigning house, where the council debates on the duties of government. The points agitated are, how our fathers governed, what measures are to be taken with murderers and robbers on the high-ways, how merchants are to be dealt with, &c. The young then declaim in favour of violence and injustice; after which the elders, five in number, are asked. These decide in favour of equity. The king is afterwards chosen by a plurality of voices.

Waragna, father of Fasil, was converted to Christianity. His father was Wusho (signifying a dog), of the western Galla, of the tribe Jimmali. He was a merchant; but being remarked to be brave in a battle Bacuffa had with these Galla, he was invested with the caftan, and made commander of several places on the frontiers of Damot.

The Djawi Galla of Damot, Gafat, and Metchakel, as also the Galla of Maitsha, came there, in the time of Yasous Tallac. The Basso, and

other Galla of Gojam, were brought there by Hatze Fasil; others say his son Hannes.

Maitsha, from the place the Abay comes out of the lake to Courtohha, is 1½ day's march, at a moderate pace, 6 hours a day; from Courtohha, the hither part, to Samseen, one long day's journey; and from the same part to the Abay at Goutta, a very long day's journey, at a brisk pace.

The Shankala entrench their huts against surprise, and burn large fires. They wear a long shield, covering nearly the whole side, and five lances each, which they throw or stab with as needed. Bows and arrows are their chief weapons. They dig up gold among reddish earth, which they burn in the fire, and gather it as it runs out in small pieces like shot. They put it next into a small purse, or other sort of bag. Every individual is free to search for it. They are flat-nosed and flat-lipped, very black, best shaped in the upper parts, but with bad knees and legs.

The Bure way to Narea is W. in the country south by Amoro. The nearest way is by Gojam and Gooderoo, performed in 30 days with loaden asses, about eight or nine miles a-day.

Harar is a very large town, has five gates, and is constantly at war with Habbesh, or the Galla. The ridge of hills continues from Masuah to Cape Gardefan. Harar, Adel, and the Gibbertis, all hate Franks and Christians. Their prince is an Imam. The road north to the Toluma Galla is nearest by Harar; to the Woolo by Aussa. There runs the large river Hawash. There is no communication with the sea at Harar, which is surrounded on the south and east by multitudes of Galla through all that country to the interior of the continent of Africa.

From the Toluma Galla, which is one day south of Amhara to Guragué, is seven days of an ass from morning to night, I suppose 15 to 16 miles per day. From Guragué to Narea, 4 days; in their way they pass the Bashilo, but not the Kibbee, which passes through Narea. The Bashilo falls into the Abay before they pass Angheree, and they meet with it past Gerramidre before they enter Guragué.

From Raheeda to Aussa, 5 or 6 days. From Aussa to Harar, 6 days moderate journey; in 4 a strong man can accomplish it. From Raheeda to the Woolo, 15 days; from these to Amhara, 3 days. From Raheeda

to Woolo all the country is plain; the journey is performed with camels, I suppose 10 miles per day. They carry water with them in girbas, and at one time are three or four days without any other supply. Aussa is now no separate kingdom, but dependant on Harar; the race of people was from Harar, and therefore they are not subject to strangers. They are called Mellassua, and still preserve their language, which is the same with that of the Gibbertis. They count up 317 kings. From this city was Mahomet Gragne. The whole country is Adel; from Zeila to Harar is 8 days journey; but Zeila is now little inhabited, on account of the faithlessness of the natives in robbing the Jelalib. Soomal is governed by a chief at peace with Adel. Harar, the capital of Adel, has 99 villages, all governed each by a vizir, and pay tribute.

Goutta is not in Damot, though depending on it. A small peaked hill, pointed with rock, is called Geesh, or Gutch. Southward, scarce a quarter of a mile from the fountains of the Nile, the plain ends in a precipice, planted with very tall sambucs, and other trees. In this is a cavern called Washa, which they say communicates with the fountains, and that when it rains violently, the water overflows and comes in hither. The Shum Kefla Abay told me, that in the constant rains of Naasse and Hamlie, it never overflows at the springs, nor do the fountains seem larger. He remembered the accession of Hatze Yasous to the throne, and was about 80 years old. The east side of the Nile is less barren than the west side. Aformasha is not barren.

Singular custom. The Betwudet (in Habbesh), upon the death of any Wiziro, is obliged to pay the expences of the ceremony, called Misle, which amounts to 100 oxen, 3000 loaves of wheat bread, 20 jars hydromel, wood, &c. the whole about 60 ounces of gold. The ceremony is this: A sort of figure, resembling the defunct, is placed upon horseback, in his usual dress, and so carried in procession about the outer court of the palace, with the royal standard (sendick) carried before it, and the nagareet beating. This is called, in this country, "burying with sendick and nagareet;" for which the Betwudet has 1200 ardeb of wheat yearly out of the Attekolla.

The route of the Islam merchants, S. is by two ways, with loaden asses, 8 or 9 miles per day. The way by Gojam is performed in 30 days

to Sebou, and thence for other 10 to Narea. The Kibby, or Zebee, rises in Narea. Coffee, of different kinds, grows there in abundance, and the Galla feed on it. They use the lex talionis, but their internal justice is strict. They are very scrupulous of oaths: Wauke Laftan, by heaven and earth, is one of the most solemn. There are three races of Galla, the Guangoul in Angot, north-east of Begemder; Mahomet Ali, another farther west than the Guangoul, towards Amhara; and a third, Mahomet, brother of Lubo, west of Amhara. The rest are pagans; but when converted, are said to be better Christians than the native Abyssinians.

Mahabar Selasse is four commodious days journey from Gondar, in the line of Tchemmera and Tenkel. Near it pass the rivers Shimfa and Gandova, the last of which has several very high cataracts; it joins to the Shankala, and is about two days journey from Tchemmera. Both rivers fall into the Nile.

The river Bashilo separates Amhara from Begemder; the Mashilla, a river of Gojam, and the river Nefasse, fall into the Nile at the same place. In the country of the Galla west of Damot, across or west of the Abay, there is little water, and near the banks of the river the country is desert.

Damot pays 800 ounces (wakea) of gold; formerly 1000. Gojam 80 ounces, and 70 mules. Lasta 1000 ounces; these last years it pays no more, being at present annexed to Begemder. Tigre pays 400 ounces in salt and cotton cloths. Walcait 1500 ounces in cotton cloths.

The latitude of Adderghey is 13° 24′ 56″; of Macara, on Lamalmon, 13° 6′ 8″; of Gondar, 12° 24′ 30″; of Emfras, 12° 12′ 38″; of the fountains, 10° 58′ 58″.

Note at Loheia.—The Arabs are fond of music, especially vocal; for they have no instrument but a kind of flute, of the size of a German flute, which gives a wild and not unmelodious sound, and the cymbal or drum, with ten pieces fixed to its sides, which is chiefly used in cadence in dancing, or for symphonies. Their vocal music, or songs, are upon first hearing disagreeable; but it rarely happens that one who has a good ear is not soon fond of them. They are all upon love; at least I never heard any that had war for their subject; some have religion, and are sung by their Shekhs, or saints. The former have effects upon their

hearers nearly as extravagant as the ancient music produced. They have no music in parts, and have absolutely no idea of harmonical composition.

No. XLVI.

Extracts from Mr Bruce's Journals and MSS. relating to his Travels in Abyssinia and Nubia.

PART III.

Extracts from the Journals of the Route from Koscam in Abyssinia to Assouan in Egypt, by the way of Sennaar.*

Thursday, 26th Dec. 1771. At half-past one o'clock, P. M. left Koscam. At 20 minutes past 9, Thursday, Jan. 2d, entered Tcherkin. At Tcherkin the Werk Hajila comes S. E. almost parallel to the Bedoui, which it joins, and falls into the Angrab. On the Werk Hajila, the tota

* The particulars contained in this number are by no means intended to give a complete view of the Journals; they are merely occasional extracts from them, where any thing appeared curious, or useful to geography. Besides a perpetual weather-journal, the author's observations, written on many large stripes of paper, from his departure from Koscam till his arrival at Cairo, exhibit, in a condensed form, the whole body of information given in his printed narrative. Many short dissertations, on articles of natural history, the tropical rains, th antiquities of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, &c. are interspersed with the remarks of the day, as the subjects occurred to his mind. It appears from the notes, that most of the theoretical parts of his printed work were sketched during his lonely and dangerous residence at Sennaar. The geographical reports, which he received from the natives on his way, are here given exactly in his own words; but the truth of them depends on the accuracy of his informers.

(apes) are in great plenty, and guinea-fowls, called in Amharic Ziggary, and by the Arabs here Jedada. Maize is here called Mashilla. The sun, by the thermometer, sometimes exceeded 130°, yet we are capable of taking all kinds of exercise. Guesgue belongs to the Iteghe; is a shumet with a nagareet; pays 1000 cloths, 30 oxen, and 100 wakea of gold. Debra Haria is N. of this two days; the Angrab separates it from Confu at Tcherkin, and is about 18 or 20 miles distance. Tcherkin, Monday, 6th Jan. Altitude of the sun's upper limb, 54° 38′ 25″; at noon, the thermometer in the sun, 117°; at 3 o'clock, 117° Tuesday. Jan. 7th, Altitude of the sun's upper limb at Tcherkin, 54° 45′ 30″. Tcherkin, Jan. 9th, In the outer air, ¼ before 6 o'clock, thermometer 63°, calm; at 6¼ sun-rise, 63°; at 8 o'clock, in the sun, 117° dead calm, in the sun; at 8½, 120°; at 10¼, 135½, small cooling breeze; it is no ways uneasily hot; at 11, 139°. Wind changed to the N. W. and cooling breezes. We find it no ways so hot in the sun as this would seem to indicate, but can hunt and take exercise with thin cotton cloths like flannel. In the shade cool. 11¼ o'clock, thermometer 131½°; wind N. W. to W. N. W. in gusts, and varying. At 12, the same. After 2 P. M. fresh, and the thermometer falling. It is now 133½°, perfectly clear. 6 P. M. the same. In the shade, at 10¼, 80°; Wind S. W. by gusts. Mean of 13° 7′ 24″ and 13° 7′ 47″; the latitudes resulting from the observations, 13° 7′ 35″ the lat. of Tcherkin.

Tuesday, January 14, left Tcherkin. Saturday, 18th January, left Sancaho; in the way crossed the Bedowi. Tocur Oha runs from the S. E. then from N. E. to S. W. till it join the Guangue: It rises in the mountains of Awass. From Kantlis is Guanjook, bears W. by S. 1½ miles. Kuara S. S. W. 36 miles. Edin, S. by W. 28 miles. Monday 20th, Guanjook. The Angrab falls into the Tacazze in Derkin. The Guangue joins the Nile in Atbara. It rises in Nara, not far from Tchelga. Wednesday, 22d January, arrive at Kurkocomoot, the chief village of Ras el Feel.

Geographical note.—From Horcacamoot to the city of Sheba, Shekh of the Ganjar, 1½ days, footman's pace, and moderate walking, about two miles an hour, or from 28 to 30 miles. It is called Cashumo by the Ganjar, and Dendy Kolla by the Abyssinians.

The Gandova falls into the river at Defitess Amba, about 4 miles S. W. of Guanjook; it rises near Tchelga. The river Shimfa, by the Arabs called Rahad, is the boundary of Kuara, with Sennaar to the south. It winds most of any river in the country. The Angrab falls into the Guangue or Atbara. The peninsula formed by the Angrab and Guangue is Beja Proper, but the Arabic books call all between the east of the Tacazze and the Red Sea, Beja. Still farther north, opposite Teawa, the Siteet or Sisseet, of the Arabs, but the Tacazze of the inhabitants of the eastern bank and the Abyssinians, falls into the Guangue in Derkin, and is then called the Atbara, which joins the Nile in the Barabra at Takaki, where it forms Meroe. Derkin, then, is north of Beja, and on the west of the Atbara. On the east side of the river is Welled Ali, and north of Welled Ali is Taka, and lower still to the north is Mendera, and Gooz, which is on the river. Taka is five days N. by E. or N. N. E. from Welled Ali, and 9 days from Suaken; days of an Arab on a camel without baggage; 15 good days journey by a caravan. At Taka the Mareb comes from Abyssinia, and spreads itself into the flat country, overflowing it for 40 days, as the Nile does Egypt. It is here the Taka sow their dora. It is false what geographers say, that the Mareb falls into the miry fields of Derkin; the Atbara is between it and the fields of Derkin, which do not deserve the epithet of miry.

Kurkocomoot, January 26. The Guangue, running north, divides Ganjook from Ras el Feel. It is full of crocodiles and gomari, called here, Eshint. The people eat all these, as also the flesh of the buffalo. They prefer that of gomari and ziraffe (camelopardalis) in particular. Of the tails of both are made whips, called Korbatit. Found here the altitude of the sun's upper limb, 58° 29′ 15″, and the latitude 13° 1′ 33″; so we are much more west than north of Gondar. Ras el Feel has a nagareet, and is the residence of a kasmati. The language is Arabic, though different from that of Cairo or Barbary. The Amharic is still understood. The gomari is here called eshint; the crocodile, temsah; the partridge, jimmer; the zigary, or ferach Habbesh, jedada. It is very hot by day, and cold by night.

The inhabitants are black, but not of the black kind. As the most of them are Tacarna, that is, natives of Darfoor, we may attribute it to in-

termarriage. The inhabitants are of four kinds; 1st, Tucorori from Fowar: these are the most considerable. 2d, Ganjar, or Kuara Arabs; they have a large village, about two miles from this to the S. W. called Noor. 3d, Gibbertis, or natives of this place, or Habesh, &c. 4th, A mixture of Atbarans, as Gehaina, Daveina, Hamran, Welled Ali, or Nile, who are Daveina. They bring camels, neat, auraris horns, butter, &c. to the market, which is considerable, for returns of horses, mashilla, dora, and the like. The Mahometans from Tchelga, Tcherkin, and Debda, bring coffee, civet, and cloths, and purchase cotton.

On Monday, 27th January, went a-hunting. The river is the largest, after the Tacazze, in Atbara, and the Nile, in Habbesh. The Daveina hunters are called Agageers, and hunting Ganisse or Agre. There are gomari in the Birket el Kantoush, where the river turns north. The banks are low and easy, with doom trees upon them, now in fruit, but without leaves. This river runs nearly north and south, and falls into the Tacazze in Derkin, some say Barabra. Before its junction with the Tacazze on this side, the west of the Tacazze is Beja; a mixture of Arabs, of which are the Welled Ali, then Daveina; after the Daveina, the Refaa; from Haseeb, still farther south, the Ganjar, that border on the Shangalla, who reach to the Abay and Wumbarea, on the confines of Damot. The river Angrab is called by the Arabs, Basalam, and the Tacazze, Sitteet; the Shimfa they call Rahad; it passes below Beyla. Beyond the Welled Hamran Arabs, on the other side of the Tacazze, are the Hallanga, or Taka; after the Taka, near Suaken, are the Hadendowa, &c. From Ras el Feel to the Hallanga, seven moderate days journey of a camel; from thence to Suaken, fourteen long days from morning to night, sometimes all night, for want of water. The Dobena, or Baasa, are four days from the Hamran, nearer Habbesh, but on the east of the Tacazze. The Refaa and Ganjar are friends and allies. The Daveina and Nile are of the same origin. The Refaa and Jehaina are of the same cast; that is, both Jehaina, originally from Arabia Deserta, to the north-east of Imbo.

There are two roads from Ras el Feel to Sennaar. One from this to Beyla, west, and one following the course of the Guangue, that is, N. by W. to N. N. W., by Teawa and Rashid and Engedaima. From Sennaar

south, are the Nuba, pagans, along the river, till they reach the Shangalla of Agow-midre. The principal place is Fazuclo, whence comes the gold. Fowr, or Foor, is west of Sennaar; and still farther west is Sele; still farther, Bagirma; the first seven days, the latter eight, from Sele; from Sele to Kotkot*, about the same distance from hence to Burno. Foor has but one principal town; the rest is plain, and the access from Riff full of deep moving sands, without water. The road from Foor joins that of Sennaar to Messir (Egypt) at Selyma. A very considerable kofla comes from Foor, called that of Dar Foor. Foor, Bagirma, Sele, Kotkot, and Burno, are all Tucorori, or Tocarna, each having a different language. Foor is a plentiful country in all sorts of provisions, and abounds in cattle and camels. The Tucarna are more addicted to wandering than any other nation; they are spread all over Africa and Asia; they are rigid Mahometans; all know something of reading, and are great pretenders to sorcery. The poor in their pilgrimage to Mecca, subsist on writing charms for other credulous Mahometans, against jealousy and fear, to be successful in love, against musket-balls, &c. &c. The rains at Foor are in the same season as in Habbesh; so are they in Sennaar. The Foor are more civilized than the other blacks of Soudan, and are esteemed also more treacherous; they are fond of strangers, which is not the case with other African nations.

Teawa is the seat of the Shekh of Atbara, Fedaile. Between the Angrab and Tacazze is Derkin; then, lower down, Beja, which is a peninsula of the two rivers. The Beja are a mixture of different nations; they live in houses, not in tents. On the east side of the Tacazze are the Welled Ali Arabs; and three days lower, the Taka, or Ellhanga, who reach from the river three days to N. W.

Resided at Ras el Feel from 22d January till March 15th, one month and twenty-four days.

Arrived at Teawa, March 23d.

From Atbara to the river Guangue, due east, is about 14 or 16 miles. Mendera, from Teawa, is somewhat nearer than to Ras el Feel, due N. three days, but not complete, and no water save at Mendera; the road being a perfect plain, without trees, excepting in a few places.

* This passage is obscure. The word Kotkot is written once, Kolkot.

The Funge were originally Shankala, or Hamidje; being those who live along the Nile to the borders of Abesh. The Nuba are the Shankala west of Sennaar, who live on the river Abiad. The Funge at Sennaar lose the flat nose, but retain their blackness. The Arabs of Mendera are called Welled Reckeb; it was once a very considerable place, but was reduced by famine, and is now abandoned. The camels of the Refaa, near Haseeb, on the Rahad and Dender, are black; those of Atbara are white.

The Sultan of Darfoor (Teyrab) is of the Arabs Refaa. All Barbar, to the west, is full of Arabs, that came from Arabia after the conquest of Egypt; but they are under severer government than those of Atbara. They all preserve their colour, though in Nigritia. The disease of the worms, to which the Abyssinians are so subject, extends as far north as Sennaar; but to the west, as far as Darfoor and Borno, though under the same latitudes and circumstances, it is not known. The cause of this disease is also unknown, if it be not the eating of raw flesh, common in Sennaar and Abyssinia, but not in the west, or the bread; for in Gondar they eat teff and tocusso; in Sennaar and the low parts of Atbara, dora, or Indian corn; but in Darfoor, &c. and the west, they eat wheat. Strangers in Abesh are not subject to these worms, even though they eat teff there and maize. In Atbara and Sennaar, on the contrary, the natives of those countries, be their diet what it will, are constantly for a time molested with them. The horses in Habbesh are likewise subject to this disease. The Sennaar people use senna instead of kusso; but kusso is sold in Cairo for the use of the Abyssinian and Nubian slaves and others, brought in quantities yearly from these countries by Jidda and Sennaar. The intermissions of taking this drug is attended with perpetual fluxes and bloody stools, and loss of appetite, with a smart continued fever; so that the case is scarcely distinguishable at first from dysentery, unless by people acquainted with the diseases of those countries. These often end in death, from the same causes as in the bloody flux, viz. inflammation, and mortification of the intestines, &c.

Extract from the weather journal at Teawa, from Monday, April 6th, to Wednesday, 15th.—Monday, 6th April, thermometer, at noon, 130½°,

wind N. 1. cloudless, and not over hot. Tuesday 7th, at noon, 127°, wind N. 1. cloudy, united flaky clouds, but clear in the horizon to the N. hot. Wednesday 8th, noon, 120°, a few light clouds streaked in the sky. Thursday 9th, noon, 129°, wind N. hazy; streaky clouds in the horizon. Friday 10th, noon, 124°, wind N. E. 1. cloudy in the horizon. At one, P. M. 124°, wind N. E. 1. cloudy in the horizon, with streaks. Saturday 11th, noon, 110°. wind N. E. cloudless, a haze of dust. Sunday 12th, thermometer at noon, 126°, wind N. perfectly clear. At one P. M. 124°, wind N. E. A violent gust of wind some minutes ago came from the E. It has since become calm. At two P. M. thermometer 116°, wind W. by N. cloudless; the wind comes in gusts and fades away. Three o'clock, thermometer 116°, wind W. by N. 1. cloudless.

There has just now passed us a whirlwind from N. E. to S. W. with great noise. It was high in the air, in an undetermined form, like white thin clouds, flying part N. and part S. In the middle it was about a foot and a half thick, like a stream of smoke from a chimney: at the part next the earth it was in the shape of a funnel; and at its broadest part, where it whirled the dust, it might be about seven or nine feet thick, and not above half a foot where it touched the ground. It passed with a great noise along the plain, though slowly, and I suppose a quarter of a mile in eight minutes, frequently growing larger and smaller in the part near the ground, and increasing its force and velocity in whirling. When the white cloud above dispersed, it ceased immediately. The upper part was not dust, but cloud. Kites passing the cloudy part did not seem affected, though it overthrew houses and my tent as it passed, and violently moved the earth and every shrub within its vortex. Thermometer in the sun, at 4 evening, 116°; at 8 P. M. 84°, wind calm, cloudless, moon and star light. Monday 13th, noon, thermometer 133½, dead calm; at 8 at night 92°, wind W. 1., cloudless, moon and star light. Tuesday 14th, noon, 132°, wind N. cloudless. Wednesday 15th, noon, 128, wind N. E., gusty.

Between the Nile and the Bahar el Aice is the country of gold. It is south from Sennaar and west from Haseeb. This is properly the country of the Funge.

Whirlwinds raising the sands are frequent in the way of the caravans to Darfoor, about the equinox, and before the rains. They sometimes cover whole caravans. In Atbara they are daily, in this part at least; but it being fixed black earth, they are of no consequence. The means which Providence makes use of, to make these places habitable, are covering them with clouds five months, and deluging them with rains; elevating them high above others, as in Abyssinia, where calms are frequent, or rather constant, and refreshing them with winds, which never cease blowing in the low levels, as those of Atbara and the kingdom of Sennaar, where the wind always increases as the sun increases in height, and constantly makes the thermometer fall after 10 o'clock, which is here the hottest, because the calm lasts till then nearly, and recommences about 4 in the evening. The whirlwinds in the morning come from the N. E., and proceed to the S. W., those in the afternoon from N. W. to S. E.; the morning ones are not so violent as the evening ones.

The Refaa Shekh was driven from Kuara by the Abyssinians. The Arabs Nile joined Yasous when he made his expedition to Derkin. He gave a sword and brass nagareet to their Shekh. The Abd Gin Arabs also joined him, but revolted to Sennaar afterwards.

Left Teawa, April 18th, having been delayed 26 days there. Arrived at Beyla, the 19th: at Baherie, the 22d; at the Cohala Arabs, the 23d; among the Nuba villages, the 25th; at Basboch, the 26th; on Wednesday, the 29th April, entered Sennaar.

From Teawa to Beyla is about 31¼ miles, by esteem 28; from Beyla to Baharie, 5¾ hours; from Baharie to the Rahad, 3¾; from the Rahad to the Cohala, 2½ hours; in all equal to 12 hours, at 1¾ miles, the greatest rate *per horam* of a loaded camel.

At Beyla, Tuesday 21st, arrived accounts of Shekh Yasine having retaken his property, carried off on the 18th by the Ganjar of Kuara; and of his retiring to the Godevi, and leaving Ras el Feel desert. The Dender runs nearly north and south, and falls into the Nile, about 16 miles below Sennaar; the place Giragreb or Geragreef. The Rahad winds exceedingly, and falls into the Nile at Habharras, 2½ days, 38 miles or so, below or north of Sennaar. The Dender stands at present in pools, like

the Rahad. This latter is larger than the Severn at Bristol-wells; the water of both is stagnant and bad, corrupted by the Arabs and their cattle. The sands of the Dender are so hot, that we cannot tread on them. On the evening of the 25th (since our leaving the Dender, it has been rather cloudy, and violent lightnings in the evenings), it blew a violent storm, with whirlwind and rain, killed two camels, and covered us with dust. Lodged in a Nuba village all night. The wind came from the N. W. with violent lightning, and threw us from our mules.

Sennaar.

The Nile at Basboch is like or greater than the Thames at Richmond; it is called the Bahar azergue; has fine white sand on its banks; the country seems flat and bare; the sky is blue, and the water clear, in some places not above two feet deep.

The king of Sennaar commands both sides of the Nile, all the way up to near Agow-midre. There are Shangalla, and thence comes the gold. The country on both sides of the river produces this metal; and they are governed by Shekhs appointed by the king of Sennaar, or rather the vizir. These are Shangalla, or natives of the place, relations of the king and great men at court; and are, as they are called, Funge, that is, Shangalla converted to Islamism, of the country whence those Shangalla came who drove out the Arabs under Wed Ageeb. Of these the government is composed. The common Shilook, or troops of the king, are mostly Pagans even yet, and have their priests. They worship a tree, &c. as God. Between the Nile, or Azergue, and the Abiad, or Bahar el Aice, is another sort of Nuba, and this is Nuba Proper and the Gold country. Also, beyond the Bahar el Aice, in the same parallel, are likewise gold, ivory, &c. and the inhabitants are also Nuba, Pagans, and their language is a distinct one. From these two provinces are all the riches of the kingdom; and they are both in the hands of the two brothers, Adelan, and Abd el Calec, who have killed two kings, and keep the third without forces, or revenue.

At Sennaar the Nile has a level bank with the country, after its steep rugged banks to the south. We have obtained an audience of Ismain. We gave him letters from the Sheriffe of Mecca and Hatze Tecla

Haimanout, for all which he shewed great outward respect, and gave us a large house.

Information. From Chendi to Barbara, four days journey; from that to Takaki, five; from Chandi to Chaigi, three days; from Chaigi to Dongola, four; about fourteen miles per day. The Nile between Takaki and Dongola turns W. that is, by Korti; leaving the Nile on the right, but going to E. of the river along it, ten days, about 105 miles.

Information. (June 19.) From Sennaar to Taka nine days; from Taka to Goze, four; from Goze (the sands) to Souaken fourteen days, close travelling, I suppose from fourteen to sixteen miles per day. Two days from Goze the road is in a level between the mountains, as between Riffe and Cosseir, or Masuah and Tarenta; the road plain, but through vallies, between high mountains. The language is called Ajemmi Taka Hallanga Hadendowee. All speak this language on to Masuah. At Souakin there is only well-water, but in great plenty and good. The wells are of very ancient workmanship. It is four days from Suaken to Hageeg. West of the Hageeg are the Habab, a kingdom of ignorant Christians. From Ageeb to Masuah seven days, and the inhabitants Moors, or Arabs, called Welled Mousa. The Ababde speak the Barbara language, *i. e.* that of the country on the confines of the rains; this is also the language of Dongola and the neighbouring spots. The language of Suaken and that country is Beja, as is the name of the people in old Arabic MSS. it is the same as Bekla, a name extended to all that dwell within the limits of the rains. The principal Beja, at present, are the Taka Hadindowee. The Marea and Hallanga all speak this language, which, being called Ajemia, has been wrongfully interpreted by some, Persians. It means the language of Ajam, or Azamia, *i. e.* the west coast of the Red Sea, within the rains. This language reaches Masuah, where corrupted Tigre or Geez begins.

Bejan words. Gold, damasa; sun, toween; water, aijam; the Nile, Neel; or sometimes, with the Arabs, Bahar el azergue; (at Souaken,) father, baboc; sister, takatoc; brother, sanoc; good-morrow, shoom moona; a dog, sirre.

The Mek of Sennaar pretends to be descended from the noble Arab tribe, Beni Ommai; but his woolly hair and black flat features shew him

to be a Shangalla; the particular name, Shilook. These inhabit the large islands in the river El Aice; a river, which, rising in the country south of Narea, is supplied with perpetual rains, which fall under and within four degrees of the Line; and, therefore, it is always full, and never diminishes as the Nile does, in the latitude of whose fountains the rains prevail only at stated seasons.

The name of Shankala, given to the *true* blacks in Abyssinia, is not known in the kingdom of Sennaar, though in features and complexion they are the same people. The river El Aice is twice as broad as the Nile, and very deep in all the course of it. Before it joins the Nile are many islands; in these dwell the Shilook, who rob in barks up the whole of it. The other blacks come from Guba, Nuba, and Fazuclo; three southern provinces which depend on Sennaar. Both Guba and Nuba are towards the confines of Kuara, in the low and hot country in the S. E. of that province. Fazuclo is a country lying between the Nile and the river Abiad. In all these countries is gold in abundance found in torrents after rains, at the roots of the trees, or their fibres.

The Mek and his friends sell their wives to the best bidder. As the people of Sennaar are a mixture of negro men and Arab women, they cannot be said to have any characteristic features. This (June, 1772) is the 1186 year of the Hegira, as counted at Sennaar; but it should seem by the Sennaar accounts, that the first of the Hegira should be A. D. 648, rather than A. D. 622.

Upon the Bahar el Aice is the town El Ais, three days journey west of Sennaar; it is the greatest command in the gift of the Mek. The Tacazze, or Atbara, joins the Nile four days on the other side of Shendi, or three days on the side of Berber. The place is called Magiran, which, in Arabic, signifies the junction. In summer it is so shallow you pass it on foot, the water taking you up only mid-leg. All the rivers in these countries fail when the sun goes south of the Line, however abundant and full they were before; and were it not for the Abiad, which rises near the Line, and whose inundation is perpetual from its enjoying the rains of both rainy seasons, the Nile itself would be eight months in the year dry, and at no time arrive across the desert in so much fulness as to answer any purposes of agriculture in Egypt. The Abiad river is three

times as big as the Nile. I always believe it to be the Kibbee of the Nareans, or Galla, the Zebee of the Jesuits, the Yabous of the Fazuclans, being the boundary of that province to the westward*.

Sennaar, (Aug. 2. 1772.) The Shillook are very numerous. There are three principal islands. These are scarcely a day's journey above the river El Aice. They leave these islands in the rainy time, and repair to them in the dry season; and then they ravage and plunder all the neighbourhood. There are several other islands farther up. Their towns are on the west side of the river, and very numerous. The river El Aice is a very deep running river; it scarcely can be seen to run. It rises in latitudes of perpetual rain.

Information. (July, 1772.) Darfur, called Konjara, is seven days from Lebeit, or Kordofan, without water, and all sand. Darfoor has high mountains, on which the snow lies for months. South of Darfoor are the Shankala, or Nuba, of Dar firteet; whose inhabitants, as also those of Dyre and Tegla, go perfectly naked, without any piece of covering, both sexes and ages. They are Pagans, and their country produces gold.

Here (Sennaar) in July it rains at night; seldom by day. It is now cloudy always, and is the season in Abyssinia of violent rains.

July 20. The Nile would fail, were it not for the never-failing Abiad, or Bahar el Aice; this rising near the Line, considerably south of the sources of the Nile in the latitudes where fall perpetual rains. It never decreases, but it is always full. There is no such western branch as has been spoke of, nor none necessary; the ground rises everywhere to the W. and S. from the Nile. The rivers of Foor, Sel, Bagirma, Kolkol, and Borno, all run west, though the course of the Nile and Abiad is often E. and S. E. It is the ground that rises from the Nile to Dar Borno,

* In the copious mass of information respecting the countries all around Sennaar, the reader will find very full details on many of the places which are mentioned in the routes communicated to Mr Browne at Darfur. The language and orthography of Mr Bruce is most strictly retained in these extracts. From them we may judge of the size and importance of the western branch of the Nile; which, however large, was considered as the direct river of Egypt by no person with whom the author conversed, from Saccala to Syene. E.

where is the highland, or spine of Africa, and there slopes to the Ocean, as to the east of that it does to the Red Sea, whatever the Nubian geographer, Ludolf, Vossius, and others, may say to the contrary.

From Sennaar to Fazuclo is seven days with unloaded camels, with loaded camels, twelve. There are no Nuba east of the Bahar el Aice. From Sennaar to Lowney is three days; then to Mugue, two; then to Myas, or Elcascab *, two; from this is Fazuclo.

From Kordofan to Darfoor, seven waterless days. Teyrab is the present king, the last was called Jesoe. They are a very barbarous fanatic people, called Tucorori.

The people of Sennaar have all the mixed features of all the negroes. The Shilook, or Funge, seem to have the head longer and broader at the base; the cranium tending to conical, high raised; the nose long and pointed downwards; the eyes large; the cheeks and eye-brows, cones standing much out; the lips not any way remarkably thick; the mouth large, and the teeth white and small. The southern Hamidge have the head large and well shaped, the cheek bones high; the eyes not so large; the nose flat at the end, and turning rather upwards; the nostrils large and open; the nose broken in the middle, which feature their children born at Sennaar immediately lose; the lips thick and blubber, as it is called; the mouth large. They are much stronger made than any of the blacks; longer lived, and better inclined; and these qualities all increase as they go farther south, so that the best of all are those between Guba and Agow-midre, in the country called Wumbarea, and between that and Welled Abalay, in the Abyssinian histories called Beluy.

This, upon the best information, seems to be the particular situation of these nations. The Nuba, bounded on the east by the river el Aice; on the west by Darfoor, or the desert between that and Kordofan; on the south by the high chain of mountains, Dyre and Tegla; and on the north by Harraza, perhaps, or the desert of Selyma, adjoining on the Barabra and desert of Barka. The Funge occupy the river El Aice, and extend themselves up it to the mountainous tract south, which is but a continuation of the mountains of Fazuclo and Kuara, where they end.

* Corrupted from El Casim. E.

The Hamidge are those to the west of Kuara, bounded on the south by Agow; and by the river Yabous on the south, on the other, or western side of the Nile; all then is Fazuclo to Dyre and Tegla, confining with the Nuba. All the south of Atbara and frontiers of Abyssinia, in a line nearly S. W. and N. E. from Kuara to the Habab, unless where broken in upon by the Arabs, are Baasa, or Dobena, the ancient inhabitants of Meroe, the Æthiopes meri of Pliny. The Pagans have been converted very slowly to the Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan faiths. The Abyssinians converted to Islamism are all bigots, all readers, and make profession of a more than ordinary observance of the Koran; the Shangalla, on the other hand, though converted, preserve that indifference for their new religion which they had for their old, and generally give excessively into drinking and swearing. Few of them can either read or write; I think I never saw one of them that could write.

The rainy days here at Sennaar have been the 13th, 15th, and 19th of July, and no rain of any consequence else has fallen. The wind has fallen calm now every day.

The Vallis Garamantica seems either the mountains of Kone, or Harraz, perhaps, the the former; the latter is the Montes Æthiopici. There, and on the mountains to the south for ten days, are all Nuba. There are no Nuba east of the Bahar el Aice. Above the Shillook are the Dinka, another race of Shangalla. On the west side of the Nile, nearly opposite Ashentol, the river Yabous comes from the south east, and falls into the Nile.

From Sennaar to Lowney, three days; from Lowney to Mugue, two days; from Mugue to Myas, or el Cassab, two days; from this begins Fazuclo. All are soldiers called Bagodi. On the east begins the mountain of Fazuclo, which is as it were split, and over which the river falls; then all along the east side also are the soldiers called Bagodi. East from Jibbel Fazuclo, or a little S. E. is Abramale; east of that, three days, Welled Abali, in Habbesh. South from Abramale two days, Guba; and S. W. from Guba is the mountain Ashintol, Abessine, I suppose Agow. From near Ashintol rises the Dender, and passes by Guba, on the West Fazuclo; runs three days between the mountains and Nile. In the middle of the gorge, about two-thirds of its length, south, is the

Mek of Fazuclo's villages; the mountains west of the mountains of Fazuclo also are black nations, subject to Fazuclo. This Mek is a native black of that country, who is, however, placed or deposed by the Mek of Sennaar. The Guba, and inhabitants of the mountains to the W. of the river are Pagans. On the west side of the Nile, nearly opposite Ashentol, the river Yabous comes from the south-east, and falls into the Nile. On the north side of it is a Christian state, it is said, the prince or Mek of Shaira; and still further west, the Mek of Fertassi, Mahometan and Pagan. The Galla are all along on the south of the Yabous, and have been all cut to pieces as often as they have attempted to pass the river, which is a very considerable one. All the country is plentiful in gold, elephants, &c. and well peopled. From Fazuclo to the Yabous, and south-west along its banks, as far as is known, it is very rainy; and from May to July, and again from September to the middle of November, very unwholesome. The gold is all found in red earth: wherever that is, is gold; wherever that is not, is none. This is the account the natives give of this country. From Haseeb the road is to Garri, a mountain to the south-west; then Abramela, south; then Guba, south; or from Garri to Fazuclo. The people on the mountains of Fazuclo, and on to the Yabous, are very remarkably strong, and long-lived, and of large stature. They all go naked. One of their principal people, the Vizir (Shekh Adelan), assured me, had above 200 children, and was at that time so strong as to hunt the elephant, with no other arms than his lance, on foot.

From Sennaar to Shaadly, 6 hours; from Shaadly to Waalia, 13 hours; from Waalia to El Aice, 11 hours. From Waalia to El Aice, all trees, or wilderness, without houses, or water. After passing the El Aice, there is no village nor water till 18 hours after you come to Arabs, and a large collection of villages called Beni Kanana; these Arabs are Beni Koreish. From Beni Kanana, 14 hours to Kone. This is a small hill, not a high mountain, as before supposed. Here are Nuba; and there are water and villages till you arrive at Kordofan, which is another hill; and near it a number of villages, the principal of which is Lebeit.

North of Kordofan, 9 days, is Haraza, a rocky mountain, of no very great height, where there is water; and here are a nation of Nuba.

The mountain is perpendicular. The people live in a kind of camp below, enclosed round with bushes and thorns, and exact a due from all caravans who take water. Besides these hills, all from El Ais to Kordofan is sandy without herbage, full of serpents.

To the south of Kordofan 8 days, some say 6, others 10, are the high mountains Dyre and Tegla, running east and west; these are prodigious mountains, full of a great variety of tribes, with whom Kordofan is at war. From these come the slaves; and there is plenty of gold, elephants, &c. I imagine this is the same chain of mountains west of Fazuclo *.

Fazuclo is 5 days from Haseeb; from 80 to 90 miles. It is partly on the west, partly on the east of the Nile; but its chief town or village is on the west. It is four days from Ab-Halai, which belongs to Kuara; It borders on the Agow to the south, to the east of the Nile, and on the Galla to the west. From this comes the gold. All the country near the Nile is inhabited by Arabs and people from Sennaar. The Arabs are Refaa. On the east of the Nile is Guba, a large district of Shangalla, on the east of the river; and inland here, the father of the present vizir (Shek Adelan) and his brother Shekh Mahomet, came from; and many others of the present considerable people, who, being born in Sennaar, are called Funge. Some say the country of the Funge is upon the river El Aice, but it is generally allowed that all that country is called Nuba, and that the Funge are the children of those turned Mahometans, and born at Sennaar, or in towns. Fazuclo is very mountainous on both sides of the river; the country of gold is among the mountains inland, on both sides; all the inhabitants are black, of the

* This account of the route from Sennaar to El Ais, and thence to Ibeit, the chief place in Kordofan, may be compared with the more particular one in Browne's Travels into Darfur, p. 452. The mountains of Dyre and Tegla are the Deir and Tuggala of that traveller, which are names applied here, in a general sense, to the whole and more remote chain which produces the White River. The Dinka negroes, or Shangalla, as they are called in Habbesh, which Mr Bruce was told were a race that lived above the Shillook, are, in all probability, the Donga of Mr Browne; and the coincidence of the accounts respecting the slaves taken in that region confirms this circumstance. Mr Browne's Itineraries from p. 451. to p. 473, may be collated, with these extracts from Mr Bruce's journals, to the credit of both, and with considerable advantage to geography. E.

deepest kind, with thick lips and broken nose, which their children born in Sennaar lose. Formerly the seat of this kingdom of Nuba was Dongol, before the invasion of the Arabs; and here Khaled Ibn Walid was beaten. The Nubans had elephants, then, trained in their army; and they have a tradition, that this king of the Nuba was descended from Alexander, who had a son while in this country. The Refaa Arabs, at Fazuclo, have not changed their colour any more than those of Atbara.

N. B. The gold is found, even close by the Nile, in small quantities; it is everywhere picked up with red earth, and washed in dishes to separate it. It is no where found in mines. There are numbers of rivers here; and it rains 8 months from April, the time when it begins. Agues are very frequent, and bloody fluxes. It is cold all the season of the rains. Elephants are here in great quantities; rhinoceroses, ziraffas, wild hogs, and all kinds of game. Civet cats are, too, in plenty: The negroes hunt and eat the flesh, but they do not know how to make it produce civet. The slaves are here employed in finding gold. The Dender comes from near the Agow. Haseeb is on the west side of the Dender.

There is no gold at Kordofan. It comes from a place south of it, called Shygoom; Shankala to Kordofan. It is 45 days from Darfoor*.

The country of the Funge is Fazuclo, and Guba east of Fazuclo, and west in that parallel to the Bahar el Aice: they bound the Nuba to the

* The place from which gold is here said to come to Kordofan, appears to be the Sheibon of Mr Browne; to which a very curious itinerary from Ibeit, the capital town of Kordofan, is given, in pp. 460, 461, and 462, of his Travels in Africa. The province of Kordofan was indeed conquered by the Furians, in a few years after this date, by Sultan Teraub, the Teyrab of Mr Bruce, who usually resided at at Ril (Browne's *Travels*, p. 239.), a place described by Mr Browne in the page now quoted. With regard to Mahomet Abou Calec, the following account is also furnished by Mr Browne: "A king, of the name of *Abli-calick*, is the idol of the people of Kordofan, where he reigned about fourteen years ago, and is renowned for probity and justice. The kings of Kordofan had been deputed to the Mecque of Sennaar till after the death of the son of Abli-calik, when it was usurped by Fur, in consequence of the weakness and dissensions of the government of Sennaar." Browne's *Travels*, p. 307. Mr Browne was in Darfur, A. D. 1794, which brings down the death of Abou Calec to 1780. E.

south. The Shillook, in the islands of the Bahar el Aice, are Funge also, not Nuba. The Mek Ismain is the twentieth king of the Funge in Sennaar, since the conquest over the Arabs. Baady, Nasser, and the present Ismain, were in our time. Baady reigned forty years, and was dethroned, and afterwards murdered; Nasser, eight years, dethroned, and murdered; Ismain is now reigning the third year.

East of Guba is Abrumela; and east of Abrumela is Welled Abelay, called, by the Abyssinians, Belaya, and dependent on them. From Fazuclo, on the east of the Nile, to Belaye, is five days, or about 80 miles.

News are brought (Aug. 1.) that the people of Darfoor have marched with an army to take Kordofan, which, it is apprehended, they soon will do, being about 12,000 horse, and an infinite number of foot. There are, at Kordofan, about 1500 horse, with Mahomet Abou Calec; who, it is thought, will fall back on Sennaar, if not surrounded. The caravan, which was bringing all the valuable effects from Kordofan, was plundered at the Bahar el Aice, or near it, by the Beni-Gerar, a tribe of the Beni-Faisara. The army of Foor was encamped at a place called Reel, south-west of Lebeid, about seven or eight days, where there is plenty of water. It is their place of rendezvous, about the same distance as Foor. It is at Darfoor they put the king to death, with two razors, in a seshe, or handkerchief. At Sennaar he is killed with a sword, by one of his relations, the Gindi, or common executioner of the town.

Abstract of the Weather Journal at Sennaar, from the 6th to the 20th August 1772, while the Nile was rising by the Rains in Habbesh, &c. July 30th, the Nile failing, and not affected.

August 6th, noon, thermometer 75½; rain; sky overcast. 7th, Thermometer 81; cloudy. 8th, Noon, thermometer 81½. 9th, Noon, thermometer 83¾. 10th, Noon, 85½. 11th, Noon, thermometer 83½; and at 1 P. M. 85. On the 12th, at noon, thermometer 86 in the house; in the sun, 115. All these days, from the 8th to the 12th inclusive, either overcast, or masses of white clouds.

At Sennaar, at 74 of Fahrenheit, cold. From 74 to 80, cool; from 80 to 92, temperate; all above, hot. Yet the Nubians do not sweat in the sun, though the thermometer is often there 150.

Sennaar, August 14th, the sun vertical, sunrise 74½; wind S. W. 1; streaky thin clouds through the air; cool. The Nile is increased a mere trifle this night. 8 o'clock A. M. thermometer 78½; wind S. W. 2; streaky clouds through the air; the sun shines high; cool. 9 A. M. thermometer 80¼; wind S. W. 1; sky overclouded with high small broken white clouds; temperate. 10 A. M. thermometer 82; wind S. W. 1; all overcast; temperate, or cool. 11 o'clock, thermometer 82½; wind W. S. W. 1; all overcast; temperate. Noon, thermometer 82½; wind S. W. 1; all overcast. 2 o'clock P. M. thermometer 86; wind W. S. W. 1; large spots of thin white clouds. 3 P. M. thermometer 87; wind S. W. 1; streaky high clouds through the air, especially S. 4 P. M. thermometer 88; wind S. W. 1; streaky clouds, but turned darker and heavier. 5 P. M. thermometer 88; overcast, so that the sun scarce appears; wind S. W. 0. Sunset, thermometer 86½; wind S. W. 0; high clouds through the air. August 15th, sunrise, thermometer 74¾; wind S. W. and thick rain, and all overcast. It has rained all night very violently; but the Nile is but a little increased. 8 o'clock, A. M. thermometer 77½; wind S. W. and all overcast, and rainy-like. The sun is now in the zenith; yet it has rained violently, contrary to the supposition of those, that the sun coming to the zenith, it is fair weather. Noon, thermometer 78; wind W. S. W. 0; small rain; all overcast. 3 P. M. thermometer 79; wind S. W. 0; all overcast, and beginning to rain. Sunset, thermometer 79¾; wind E. 0; all overcast; but the clouds seem turning lighter. The Nile still continues to fail.

August 16th. Sunrise, thermometer 75°; wind W. 0; clouds in the horizon all around; the sun rises behind the clouds; the Nile still fails. 10 A. M. thermometer 77¾°; wind S. W. 1; all overcast. 11 A. M. thermometer 80½; wind S. W. 1; all overcast, with white stationary clouds. Noon, thermometer 83°; wind S. W. 1; all overcast, but no rain. 2 o'clock P. M. thermometer 84½°; wind S. W.; large white clouds filling the air, but clear sunshine. 3 P. M. thermometer 85¼; wind S. W. 1; large white clouds fill the air, and overcast the sun. 5

o'clock P. M. thermometer 85°; wind W. S. 0; it has cleared; large broken dispersed clouds, without sections, through the air. Sunset, thermometer 84°; wind E. by N.; high thin red streaks through the sky. Monday 17th, Sunrise, thermometer 74°; wind S. W. 1; all overcast, stormy and rainy-like to the windward; violent rain in the night from the E. and E. N. E.; the Nile does not increase to the eye; the people say it has risen 1 peek. 8 A. M. thermometer 75½°; wind S. W. 1; all overcast. Noon, thermometer 80°; wind S. W. 1; all overcast, but fair as yet. Sunrise, thermometer 83°; a dead calm; all overcast. Tuesday, August 18. Sunrise, thermometer 71; wind S. W. 1; all overcast; thick and misty everywhere; it has rained in the most violent manner since 2 in the morning; still small rain; thunder and lightning in the night; the Nile has swelled prodigiously; cold, (rain began at 2 in the morning.) 9 o'clock A. M. thermometer 72¼; wind S. W.; constant small rain. 11 A. M. thermometer 76; wind S. W. 1; thick small rain from the W.; all overcast, dark, misty, and unpleasant. Noon, thermometer 76; wind S. W.; cloudy, and just left off raining. Sunset, thermometer 79; wind S. W. 1; overcast, but fair all afternoon. Wednesday, 19th, sunrise, thermometer 75; wind, light airs, E. and W. alternately; all overcast; (fair all last night.) 8 A. M. thermometer 76½; wind W. S. W. 0; all overcast, but clearing; the sun shines faintly. [N. B. A civet cat and a hyæna were brought down by the stream this last night, and taken, near the town, alive; also great quantities of wood and trees; the Nile has increased greatly this night.] Noon, 81½; wind W. S. W. 0; cloudy, with intervals; clear and fair all this day as yet. Sunset, thermometer 80; wind N. E. 0; cloudy all over. Thursday, August 20th. Sunrise, thermometer 75; wind W. S. W. 0; overcast with large broken clouds; the Nile has swelled to-night, so as to be level with its banks; but there has been no rain here. 9 o'clock, Thermometer 77; wind S. W. 1; large spots of white clouds through the air, but clear sunshine, &c. &c.*

Entered Sennaar April 29th, and left it September 5th, 1772, having stayed there four months and six days.

* The observations of latitude and longitude, from Koscam to Syene, are given in the end of this volume, along with the general list.

Computed Miles of the Road from Sennaar to Herbagi, as follows:

To Wed Solomon 3 miles; thence to Wed Tumbel 8; thence to Sitt Elbet 7; then to Wed Hydar 9; thence to the village Sheerib 4; thence to Wed Mediney 7; thence to Azaza 10; then to Sidi Ali Genowi 3; whence to Harbagi 7: In all 58; course N. by W. These 58′ added to 13° 36′ lat. of Sennaar, will make that of Herbagi 14° 34′; and deductions, in general, being made, the latitude, I say, will be 14° 30′.

For the particulars of the journey from Sennaar to Harbagi, and from that to Halfaia, near which the Bahar el Ais, or Abiad, joins the Bahar el Asrek, or what the natives of Atbara, Sennaar, and the southern part of the desert, between Sennaar and Egypt, plainly seem to consider as the Nile, the reader may consult the printed narrative in the Travels, Vol. VI. The following extract is made from the journals at Halfaia, where Mr Bruce resided, from the evening of the 22d, to the morning of the 29th of September, 1772. In justice to him, it must be observed, that these remarks were written at Halfaia, where, in the space of six days, he possessed abundance of time and opportunities to inquire about the two rivers, and even to visit the place where they meet. When writing his printed narrative, there is a possibility of his having been influenced by theory, or even by a design to make the Abay of Habbesh pass for the direct body of the Egyptian Nile. At this time, no such motives existed. Through all the journals, there is not a single hint, or innuendo, that the river of Abyssinia was not the river of Egypt. The question at present is not, Whether the Bahar el Abiad be the largest stream of the two? but, Whether Mr Bruce was conscious that it was the Nile? Whether the natives of Sennaar and Halfaia considered it as such? and, Whether literary people* can justify themselves for the attack they have

* See Mr Pinkerton's Modern Geography, art. Africa, Vol. II. p. 717; Hartmann's Edrisii Africa, on the character of Mr Bruce and his work, in his Introduction, inter libros in subsidium vocatos, p. xxxv. et passim; and Histoire d'Herodote, traduite du Grec, par M. Larcher, 9 voll. 1802, in the notes to his translation, passim. As a contrast to the spirit of these writers, see Major Rennel's successive Maps and Illustrations of the Geography of Northern Africa, in the works published under the patronage of the African Association.

openly made on the moral character of a man, who might, at times, be mistaken in common with the rest of the world, but who could not deliberately, amidst fatigue and danger, have sitten down to invent an answer to their unforeseen objections.

Halfaia is situated in the large semicircular peninsula which the Nile here makes; it is the residence of M. Wed Ageeb, king of all the country, till conquered about 1504 by the Shillook. The Arabs, who were strong, left him, and some of them paid their tribute to Shekhs in other places. He is master of the Acaba, or pass of Gerri.

The river Abiad joins the El Aergue, or Nile, at Hojile, or Hojila, about nine miles south of Halfaia. The village was at first between the rivers; but the Fakir having placed his tomb on the river Nile, without the joining, the village has been transferred thither. The Nile is still at Halfaia called El Azergue, not the Nile *.

* In the printed acccount of the junction of the two rivers, Travels, Vol. VI. p. 424, second edition, Mr Bruce seems to have committed a slight mistake, in describing the village of Wed Hojila, and the influx of the White River, as about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Halfaia. It appears from this entry in the journal, that the junction is about nine miles south of that city, as laid down by him in his general map. Halfaia is there, indeed, not placed two-tenth parts of a degree north of the junction, but more than one-tenth part, or five miles, which evidently agrees with his note made upon the spot. There is no notice in the journal respecting Wed Hojila, besides the passage extracted as above. It seems very probable that he went to see the junction, during his residence at Halfaia; and recollecting the place and circumstances of this, at the same time when he was dictating to his amanuensis the day's journey, after leaving the town, that he was led into the statement in the narrative, without being sensible of the error which he had incurred. Great part of his work was dictated to another person, during composition: and this, taking into consideration the haste with which so many volumes were prepared for the press, will do more than account for a few inaccuracies in matters so easily confounded together. Be that as it may, the evidence of the journal and the map are clearly to be preferred to the printed statement; and admitting their authority, we also learn that the Nile, that is, the great river, is still called, at Halfaia, nine miles below the junction, the Bahar el Asrek. The name of the Abyssinian branch, extended to the united stream, either insinuates that the colour of the Abay is still retained by the river, a circumstance, which, considering the superior mass of the western waters, white with mud, is not very probable; or that the river is still considered as a continuation of the Abyssinian branch, and consequently retains the name of its original. All the Arabs, from Fazuclo to the junction, know the river of Habbesh by the

Wed Baracut Shek, of Alifoon, is son of a Shekh Idris Wed Erbab, a famous saint who is buried in a tomb in the town.

Ostrich feathers are an article sent from Sennaar to Cairo. The birds are caught between Harbagi and the river El Aice, or Abiad, on the sands west of that town; for greatest part of the borders of the El Aice is white sand, and thick woods, where the Arabs go to escape the flies (zimb) which we found not at Harbagi; but the houses were full of bugs, which we had not seen any where since our leaving Abyssinia.

N. B. The other contents of the journals, at this time, are a great variety of observations on the manners and history of the tribes on the way, most of which are incorporated with the printed narrative. The singular opinions of the Nuba, or Funge, respecting witchcraft, and the plants with which they charm serpents, are described at great length, and are given in this volume, at the end of the natural history. The astronomical observations are, at this period, mixed with the diary; for as Mr Bruce carried the stripes of paper in his hand, or by his side, while travelling, he had not access to any other book.

The following extract from the journal of the weather at Chendi, on the dry brink of the desert, between Nubia and Egypt, with the geographical notes on the reverse of the paper, may conclude this number.

Chandi, Tuesday 13th October 1772. Five o'clock, morning, thermometer 83; wind N. E.; a few clouds in the S.; dead calm. Sun-

name, Bahr el Asrek. If they give this appellation to the river after it has joined a larger branch, it is plain that they consider the larger branch as received into the smaller, not the smaller as received into it. It is the straight course which determines these unlettered surveyors. Many similar instances occur within our own island, of rivers being called after the inferior branch, because they run straight on in its direction; while the greater torrents, that rise in more elevated grounds, are forgotten in the course of these, because they join them in an angular position. That the Bahr el Abiad deserves, from its importance, to be reckoned the pricipal source of the river of Egypt, is not to be doubted; that Herodotus and Ptolemy, who led their translators, the Asiatic Arabs, considered it as such, is evident; but the natives of Habbesh, Sennaar, and Atbara seem to dispute these facts so generally, that Mr Bruce may surely be excused in following their opinion.

rise, thermometer 83; wind N. E.; cloudy in the S.; dead calm. 9 A. M. thermometer 93; wind N. 0; dead calm; long white streaks in the S. Noon, thermometer 116; wind N. W.; white clouds in the S.; broken and dispersed. Sunset, thermometer 95; wind N. W. 0; cloudy in the horizon to N. and S.; clear above. 11 h. and 50 min. at night, thermometer 88; cloudy in the horizon to the S. cloudless over head; clear moonlight.

Wednesday 14th, sunrise, thermometer 82; wind S. W. 0; temperate; dead calm; clouds in the horizon to N. and W. 9 o'clock, thermometer 96; wind N. E.; cloudy to the N.; small broken clouds. Noon, thermometer 109; wind W. by N. 1; hazy low in the horizon to the S.; all over-head cloudless; very hot. 3 P. M. thermometer 107; wind W. 1; large masses of white clouds fill the air; very hot. Sunset, thermometer 95; wind E.; a very few broken clouds in the horizon all around; everywhere else clear; cool and temperate.

Thursday 15th, sunrise, thermometer 78¾; wind N. W. 0; clouds to the S.; cool. Noon, thermometer 106½; wind W. 1; cloudless; very hot. Sunset, thermometer 95; wind E.; calm and cloudless.

Friday 16th, sunrise, thermometer 79; wind E. by N. 1; a few light white clouds through the air; cool. 9 o'clock, thermometer 91½; wind, N. E. 2; cloudless; warm. Noon, thermometer 103; wind E. 1; cloudless; very hot. Sunset, thermometer 95; wind N.; cloudless in the S.

Saturday 17th, sunrise, thermometer 77; wind E. 1; cool; cloudy in the S. Noon, thermometer 101; wind E.; cloudy in the S. and broken clouds in the E.; very hot. 3 o'clock P. M. thermometer 98; wind N. E. 1; white clouds fill the air; warm, or rather hot. Sunset, thermometer 94; wind E.; cloudy; thick and black clouds come from the S. ****

Notes.—"From Takaki to Deir is five days, Jellaba; there is water from wells. The Janizaries at Deir are very faithless, and often rob the caravans which carry them sumach and slaves. The Kennous, the people upon the river, are much better observers of their word and oath;

and it is here the caravans stay, if they are apprehensive of being ill received at Deir and Ibrim.

Takaki is a large district, the last of Sennaar to the north. It is under Wed Ageeb, who sends a Shekh hither. They are Jahaleen, of the tribe Rabatab, and have many horse; they have large plantations of dates on both sides of the river Nile, which after this turns west to Chaigie and Dongola. They sow dora and wheat, and water it with the Saaky; but their principal subsistence, as well as article of commerce, is dates. They have no rain, and are separated from Riffe by a sandy desert, inhabited by Bishareen and Ababde.

Takaki is north from Barbar. Barbar, or Berber rather, is three days, or 45 miles, from Takaki. Its inhabitants are Jahaleen; their tribe Myrafab; they are of the same father with the Rabatab.

Shandi (Chendi) is of three tribes of Jahaleen; the Amarab, the Rahmarab, and Shukaheera; these last are chiefly in the villages. It is near two miles from the Nile, which is nearest to the N. W. It comes from Gerri from the S. and runs N.; then winds round to N. N. E. to N. E. till N. of the town it runs E. and W. that is, from W. to E. Between the town and the river is the sown land, watered by Sakeas; the river, too, covers this plain when at its height; for a small time only. Upon extraordinary Niles, when it is a considerable time upon it, at Shandi there is scarce any wheat, which comes from Halfaia.

From Chandi to Dongola is eight days, by way of Corti, N. E. more E. a little; three days further Dongola, in a direction to northward of N. E. We pass the river at Wed Baala Nagga, and cross the north part of the desert Bayhouda. The wells are a little out of the road to the south, and there is no other water in the road between Corti and Wed Baala Nagga. From Dongola to Barbar eight days, jellaba, at the rate of 15 miles per day."

The journal from Chendi through the desert is very barren in observations, and all that it contains are expanded in the printed narrative. It consists of bearings, the hours and rate of travelling, with the state of the thermometer, &c. through a country, where, as Hagi Ismael expressed it, " the earth was on fire, and the wind was flame." At Assouan Mr Bruce resumed his pen, with a vigour which could not

have been expected in any man after such a journey. He seems to have written very frequently in his passage down the Nile, as the stripes are filled with notes on the places which he passed. He still carried them about him till he came to Cairo, where he concluded his observations.

All the journals, from Koscam to Cairo, are written on stripes of drawing paper. They are still legible, but the ink has either been bad, or has faded extremely in the desert. It is easy to see that they were written at the respective places, from the gradual tints of the ink, the carelessness of the writing, and every kind of evidence that papers of the kind can furnish. The corrections made on them, which are not numerous, appear in blacker ink, and in a more attentive hand.

No. XLVII.

PART I.

Vocabulary of the Amharic, Falashan, Gafat, Agow, and Tcheretch Agow Languages.

The specimens of languages given in the plates, Nos. 4, 5, 6, will probably convey little information to those who are unacquainted with Ethiopic literature; and it must be regreted, that, to enter very fully into the subject, would not repay the trouble of investigation. Mr Bruce brought from Habbesh copies of the Song of Solomon, in all the languages he has mentioned. The Geez specimen is taken from the MS. Bible in his collection. The Amharic, Falashan, Gafat, Agow, and Tcheretch Agow, are in a volume by themselves, in which is also a vocabulary made by the scribes in all these different languages. Of the Geez it is unnecessary to say much: it is illustrated in the works of Job Leuteholf, or Ludolphus, a man of surprising genius and learning in

that department of literature. The Geez is the oldest dialect of the Arabic, properly so called, in existence: it is that of Hamyar, or at least of Arabia Felix, from which the Axumites in Tigré were a colony.

The Amharic, the modern language of Habbesh, is next in order. To this also Ludolph applied his indefatigable hand. He had most of his information from Gregory, a monk, and native of Hagara-christos, in Amhara; and managed it, scanty as it was, with a genius, for which he has not obtained credit. His grammar and vocabulary will be of uncommon service to those who afterwards enter Abyssinia. Mr Bruce studied both very carefully: He had a volume among his books, containing the two grammars and dictionaries, Geez and Amharic, by Ludolph: He spoke Arabic, among the Mahometans and Greeks at Gondar, till he was able to converse in the language of the country, by the help which he procured from the natives, and professional scribes.

The Amharic is an Arabic dialect, much softened in some of its consonants, and rendered harsher by the addition of new ones. It is what may be called an unwritten language; consequently its orthography is unsettled; and its words are clustered together in a manner similar to the Coptic found in Egyptian MSS. It is more simple than the Geez in the form of its verbs, some of the old conjugations having become obsolete; but in all other respects it is the same with that language. The Habessines of Tigre seem to have taken possession, at an early period, after their arrival in Ethiopia, of the mountains of Shoa and Amhara; and to have formed there an independant nation, which to this day boasts of its nobility and elegance. Since the restoration of the house of David (under this appellation they mean the present line of kings), all has been Amharic at court. The manners, language, and dress of that province, have obtained an ascendant over all others. Mr Bruce was so struck with the universality of the Amharic language, that he entered a long note in his common-place book, in which he enumerated the provinces where it is understood; and conjectured that, at some former period, Amhara had over-run with conquest the whole empire. He afterwards acquiesced in the received opinion of the natives, that may be found in his Travels.

The Falasha language is that of the tribes professing the Jewish religion, who formerly ruled in Dembea, Samen, and the country near the rivers Angrab and Kahha. At what time these embraced Judaism is extremely uncertain. It is probable that they were old Ethiopians, the native inhabitants of the country, whom the Jews having found in a savage state, conquered, and converted to their own faith. For both Abyssinia and the south of Arabia, before the time of Christianity, were filled with Jews, who had forced or persuaded many of the tribes to embrace their religion, and acknowledge their government. The Abyssinian annals positively assert, that before Christianity, part of the nation (Itiopia) were worshippers of the serpent, or Pagans; and part (sebâ hege) people of the law, or Jews.

After the reign of Icon Amlac, 1268, the Jewish kings of Samen were weakened by successive conquest and treachery. Their subjects were reduced to a handful by the zeal of the monks, and the allurements of superior protection. The remainder were forced into the mountains, where they remain at this day, governed by tradition in matters of faith; for all their written records have perished.

Their language has no affinity to Hebrew or Arabic. It is one of the ancient Ethiopian tongues, which has no similarity to any that is known. The annexed vocabulary will abundantly illustrate this assertion.

The simile of the panther's skin, applied by the ancients to Africa, may illustrate the present state of Abyssinian population. The Arab race forms the principal colour; while the Falasha, Tcherets Agow, the Agow of Damot, and Galla, resemble the spots. Mr Bruce affirms, that the two distinct nations of Agows are of the same race, which seems to be confirmed by the general similarity of their languages. As for the Gafat nation, it may have been from a separate original; but the language is nothing but a corrupted dialect of the Amharic, as will appear more clearly from the Table.

Of the Shankala, Mr Bruce could not procure any specimen. He was informed that all the tribes of this nation, from the White River to Habbesh, spoke a common tongue; which is very probable, on account of their living in the same tract of country, and bearing the physical characteristics of one race. The Funge, who conquered Sennaar from the

Arabs, embraced the language and religion of the vanquished; but the parent tribes on the banks, and in the isles of the White River, retain their ancient language and their Paganism.

The Table, given below, is carefully copied into the English alphabet from the Geez. The number of characters sufficient for writing the old language of the country has been increased by several additional ones, invented to represent the compound consonants of the Amharic. Probably the native sounds of the Agow and Galla are not very accurately conveyed by the Habbessine alphabet, but of this no opinion can be given with certainty, by any person, who has never heard them uttered.

English.	*Amharic.*	*Falashan.*	*Gafat.*	*Agow.*	*Tcherets Agow*
God	Egzer	Yadara	Egzerashe	Deban	Yadara
The sun	Tsa'i	Kuara	Tcheber	Awi	Kora
The moon	Tchercka	Serka	Tserakit	Arpha	Arba
A star	Kokeb	Shengra	Kokeb	Bawa	Tsuglew
Wind	Nephus	Kemoba	Nephusesh	Nephus	Phagiya
Rain	Zinam	Suwa	Zinnabu	Eri	Suwa
Lightning	Meburk	Merk	Mebarkua	Melagi	Merka
Clouds	Damana	Damana	Cueyabi	Ewule	Dumna
Earth	Midre	Biya	Aphar	Buti	Ziba
A hill	Tarara	Duba	Amba	Kana	Kazinna
Iron	Bert	Shaga	Berti	Ber	Akinna
Gold	Werk	Werka	Mawerki	Werk	Wirka
Silver	Ber	Aima	Bersh	Ber	Aimra
A stone	Danguia	Kerinna	Denguish	Kerinna	Kerina
Fire	Asat	Lya	Satawi	Lage	Lya
A tree	Zafe	Kana	Mazafash	Satsi	Haa
A wood	Der	Kebina	Deber	Kawna	Beriha
A valley	Gedle	Gaga	Gada	Zuwa	Kezi
A plain	Meda	Wulaga	Adaish	Wutagi	Showa
A tent	Dunquhan	Dunwhan	Medunkini	Dunwhan	Deckon
Grass	Sar	Shanka	Bul	Kiyou	Tsake
Fruit	Fre	Fra	Frash	Kuti	Fere
A flower	Ababa	Saga	Ababash	Abibi	Tsia
A bee	Neb	Lagela	Nabowan	Sagari	Lala
Honey	Mara	Sagia	Debsa	Nargi	Sara
Wheat	Sende	Djargua	Sendesh	Sendaiu	Zira
Indian corn	Mashela	Mila	Mashilesh	Mila	Mile
Barley	Gebs	Gebra	Gebsuwan	Semki	Sekem
Bread	Endjera	Ara	Gendjera	Anki	Mi
Water	Waha	Ahu	Ege	Ahu	Naku
A river	Wanzi	Cura	Wadaw	Wushi	Wirba
A fountain	Mentshe	Mentshe	Mentsho	Ali	Felfele
A well	Azakat	Azakat	Azakwatu	Azaka	Azikat
A fish	Asha	Aza	Asresh	Asi	Haza
A horse	Feres	Ferza	Ferdesh	Firsi	Feras

English.	*Amharic.*	*Falashan.*	*Gafat.*	*Agow.*	*Tcherets Agow*
An ass	Ahya	Dewra	Enshela	Duhuwari	Duhuwarao
A mule	Beklo	Bila	Betchela	Bakli	Bekela
A camel	Gemele	Gembila	Gemli	Gemla	Gemla
A cow	Lamo	Kema	Lamowi	Lewu	Lu
A calf	Tsadja	Gara	Tsaguiat	Meshi	Niwu
An ox	Bre	Bire	Guna	Biri	Bera
A sheep	Beg	Baga	Bagi	Tai	Biga
A lamb	Tebot	Gelgel	Tabot	Sagugi	Tebot
A goat	Fil	Fintra	Fadjala	Felay	Fetchera
A kid	Gelgel	Gelgel	Bushta	Gelgel	Fetche
A horn	Kand	Gii	Kandi	Djandja	Dji
The hide	Tsepher	Langela	Tchefer	Inge	Are
A lion	Anbasa	Gamana	Zebi	Casara	Abaza
A dog	Wusha	Gezin	Ekese	Geshenna	Gezenna
A locust	Anbata	Ambi	Anbatesh	Anbati	Abata
A bird	Af	Djela	Yafe	Tchaga	Zila
A man	Sewu	Ira	Sebew	Aki	Adjera
A woman	Set	Iwina	Anset	Huna	Awuna
A child	Tchekla	Leleb	Tchekla	Sera	Melewa
A son	Ledj	Hara	Bush	Ira	Hura
A brother	Wandum	Zona	Ala	Itchusia	
Sister	Eta	Shena	Alet	Itchuda	Isin
Father	Abat	Yaba	Abuya	Nitala	Nira
Mother	Enat	Igan	Emuyo	Nitchu	Nadjuna
A friend	* Wadadje	Yamana	Wadadje	Niwudadje	Amana
The head	Ras	Aguya	Demow	Nari	Awra
Hair	Tsegur	Shebka	Tchegur	Sisiphe	Tsebegu
Eye	Ain	Ile	Ein	Ele	Ele
Nose	Afuntcha	Kumba	Anfu	Sana	Esena
Mouth	Af	Makya	Semota	Kembi	Medje
Teeth	Turs	Yarku	Sena	Erkowi	Arkow
Lips	Kanfer	Kanfer	Semota	Kanfar	Kifar
Tongue	Melas	Lanah	Melasi	Shanna	Lah
Voice	Demets	Demts	Demutsi	Dumi	Kal
Ear	Djoro	Encho	Azin	Ankwagi	Karzi
Chin	Shangobat	Shangobat	Shingobatedje	Kotchakotcha	Hegi
Neck	Angat	Hume	Shantara	Kumi	Kame
Shoulder	Magafia	Magafiia	Magafesh	Mengafi	Retche
Hand	Edje	Nan	Edjedge	Taf	Nan
Arm	Kirn	Kherna	Kernedje	Kerni	Akokou
Hand	Kend	Kozar	Agat	Ninduf	Korazi
Finger	Tsat	Nana *or* djerf	Zebish	Lannat	Tsat
A man's breast	Darat	Badje	Wafara	Sende	Azon
A woman's breast	Tut	Engu	Tebu	Angow	Akou
The belly	Hode	Gozigu	Eriso	Guzgue	Gizu
Bowels	Djerba	Yawi	Katsal	Engeri	Dirba
Heart	Leb	Lebeb	Lebedje	Si	Azan
Blood	Karbat	Kerbi	Gogosh	Awi	Kerber

* It means friend and lover, from *wadadj*, to love.

English.	*Amharic.*	*Falashan.*	*Gafat.*	*Agow.*	*Tcherets Agow*
Skin	Tchen	Dembe	Tchendje	Zamtal	Dibe
Leg	Bat	Bazira	Batadje	Engerb	Betera
Foot	Tchama	Shanpa	Tchama	Tchapi	Tchafu
Heel	Tarcazi	Tarcazi	Tarcazi	Tami	Sona
Toes	Atsent	Nash	Atsant	Natasi	Natse
Year	Amt	Amya	Gabo	Amti	Amar
Month	War	Arph	Tserki	Arphi	Arphe
Week	Sement	Sowti	Samanti	Sogati	Schotche
Day	Kan	Gerge	Kani	Gerke	Gerya
Winter	Kremt	Shaguia	Kremt	Shah	Tchera
Summer	Baga	Mashawa	Kawa	Sonu	Aya
Mid-day	Akul-kan	Gerkige-ber	Mekules-kan	Gerkeshesha	Gergiber
Midnight	Memfik-lelit	Hira-geber	Yalet-kamtan	Har-shesha	Har-kula
Morning	Tsawat	Kesenna	Soban	Segla	Kashenna
To kill	Mwata	Kunanna	Meset	Kunanna	Kulun
To lose	Magadel	Kana	Mishe	Kouyini	Keranna
To steal	Masark	Hashentenna	Serkoueun	Dadegi	Suna
To cut	Koratsa	Kebuh	Aritsa	Kawuhu	Kebu
To burn	Takatsala	Siyawu	Tatsabata	Saihwa	Takitsela
To fight	Saleph	Saleph	Shishenaw	Meseleph	Sileph
To fear	Ferit	Guagenti	Firi	Djubistahwe	Gowat
To love	Mawuded	Ibelu	Ededi	Enkananna	Ekananna
To drink	Tata	Djahi	Tota	Zike	Zitche
Eat	Bela	Hui	Etcheme	Hu	Hoi
Get drunk	Mesker	Mesker	Maskeri	Etatahwa	Arawu
Run	Merots	Ganni	Ritse	Ginna	Wutiwo
Leap	Mazilal	Tertanna	Matafinter	Kunginna	Bagura
Fly	Mebirir	Bararaw	Mawuriri	Barihu	Feriw
Swim	Mawannat	*No Fal.*	Mawannat	Bambehwe	Babeku
Walk	Maheda	Enjanaku	Matahar	Casehwe	Atekue
Wash	Matsab	Enhasheku	Lertsi	Kutsuhwe	Akasaku
Die	Mota	Kiyawu	Fatara	Kerhwe	Kefa
Bury	Takabara	Dabekitiwu	Tadafana	Dawistawa	Dibetu
Hide	Tashashaga	Tabetow	Takekerat	Bafetwa	Tchebetu
Dance	Zafina	Baziwu	Izafini	Djemwa	Djimo
Sing	Dabalaw	Dabaltaiow	Dabelet	Gashan-kerwa	Awurdei
Be glad	Dasalaw	Daseu	Dasbala	Dasuwa	Akenu
Be sorry	Azana	Takezawu	Azinet	Agahuwa	Hazinu
Weep	Sak	Ihuyawu	Tsyak	Ahuwahuwa	Akora
Lament	Alakasa	Fowu	Bash	Asehuwa	Lizu
Curse	Sadabo	Dagaw	Sedebwai	Lahutehe	Zawu
Bless	Baraka	Gowtu	Barket	Barkuwa	Barku
Marry	Matchat	Waguewu	Matchotch	Atsadehuwa	Wagen
Be with child	Argazatch	Gouzigou	Lakabatch	Ashartahua	Gizubaratch
Be delivered	Waladatch	Kabaniti	Waladet	Kamnahu	Ehuratch
Forget	Rasahu	Misiwu	Tadagadjanna	Takasuia	Mitun
Remember	Asebehu	Hasabawu	Kazabehuni	Takesawa	Hasebun
Be sick	Tamamehu	Shehusiwu	Tatsomadjehu	Kundashtawa	Tsoitun
To hear	Asmalahu	Wasaku	Atsemewu	Ankwake	Watchakun
Smell	Ayalahu	Halaku	Edju	Kanta	Kalkun
Taste	Ashtalahu	Hirsaku	Ishetchanna	Aris	Harzakun

English.	*Amharic.*	*Falashan.*	*Gafat.*	*Agow.*	*Tcherets Agow*
Converse	Anagaralahi	Gamriku	Awtalahu	Dibesa	Gafakun
Stand	Koma	Maitenna	Ankwemesh	Kwaluwa	Tobetche
Come	Na	Lawu	Nanewu	Awu	Lo
Go	Hide	Fin	Hor	Ka	Fit
Circumcise	Magrazi	Gazari	Tatagrazi	Mik	Ketchushu
Believe	Amnalahu	Amenako	Amanash	Amnahwe	Amnakwe
To lie	Astanna	Wirag	Abran	Asu	Hasawari
To swear	Mahala	Shari	Malesh	Sawhwa	Tserzi
Near	Kerbe	Titi	Kerhuwi	Dike	Tebiki
Far	Arak	Kerti	Rikwan	Tchurwati	Ekel
Up	Lai	Awa	Ladje	Agwe	Aga
Down	Tatch	Sawa	Tatcfin	Suki	Suka
Open	Kefta	Kefia	Lalebala	Kefizikwa	Agutche
Shut	Zikta	Ziki	Shegebalem	Zikazikwa	Zari
Before	Fit	Gashe	Shetefin	Alafu	Getse
Behind	Huwala	Angagisha	Malfin	Angari	Agurgwe
Small	Tanash	Shegawu	Shetit	Antchekouni	Witawi
Great	Talak	Hiawu	Emuna	Denguri	Hi
Rich	Baltsaga	Kemama	Baltsegesh	Kesh	Tsagu
Poor	Duha	Duhha	Duhesh	Duhi	Dji
Dark	Tchelema	Temo	Tselemi	Lelagi	Temo
Light	Berhan	Warya	Berhani	Beran	Berhan
Deep	Talik	Shennag	Walakan	Shennaw	Talik
Long	Radjame	Lagaza	Gadarman	Ligisimi	Legezo
Short	Atcher	Deranta	Mahhalai	Daden	Adje
Heavy	Mekebed	Gakashouw	Kebedan	Aziko	Zikoukou
Light	Kalil	Kalilo	Kalilan	Sasari	Yoteni
Bitter	Memarar	Maregu	Merai	Ankek	Maro
Sweet	Matsafit	Tamitu	Itchemo	Sawnta	Tamto
Much	Adjige	Adjaw	Tabo	Mentch	Betchek
Little	Takit	Shegwa	Shetet	Leka	Watuk
Beautiful	Melkam	Shera	Guna	Malkami	Kemta
Ugly	Kefi	Izime	Yagatsanna	Duki	Tcheka
Strong	Bertu	Bertu	Tsawran	Isen	Bertu
Weak	Dekama	Senaf	Senaswai	Dekami	Dikame
Deaf	Dankoro	Wasgaw	Dankush	Tchangur	Gor
Wild	Awra	Mar	Awra	Difini	Harba
Tame	Ankasa	Wantcha	Shandush	Ankasa	Hakazi
Dry	Darke	Kagani	Darkwai	Cagi	Dirke
Moist	Artabe	Hutani	Djubyai	Sakagi	Kuten
Hot	Mamok	Cautanna	Mamok	Washtana	Ebelo
Cold	Berde	Camba	Amdadje	Ahumi	Kiba
Red	Ki	Sarawu	Walbatan	Serawu	Sero
Green	Aringwade	Aringwade	Sagates	Segeni	Elkosa
Yellow	Betcha	Betcha	Betchesh	Betcha	Betcha
Blue	Samayi	Samawi	Samayan	Debenawa	Samawu
White	Netche	Sageta	Netsuwan	Fitche	Tsaro
Black	Tekur	Shemana	Tekuray	Sarka	Neter

This vocabulary, which, notwithstanding its length, I have ventured to submit to the curiosity and indulgence of the reader, gives a tolerable

view of the five languages spoken at present in Abyssinia. In transcribing it into English characters, there are, however, several difficulties, which must be known, and understood in perusing it, of such a nature as to lay every attempt of the kind under considerable disadvantage.

The Ethiopic alphabet* consists of 26 letters, which are all reckoned consonants. Every letter has six changes made on it, to denote the vowels,

* See the Plate of the Ethiopic alphabet in the end of this volume. The Ethiopic letters are derived from the Coptic or Greek alphabet, deranged from its former order, and made rude by the hands of barbarous scribes. The change made in the Arabic alphabet, by Ibn Mocla, is well known; but that alphabet expresses none of the vowels. Long before that time, the missionaries, who first wrote the Geez, borrowed the Greek alphabet from Egypt; but finding that the language was more related to the Arabic and Hebrew than the Greek, they still retained such of these letters as were consonants, with which they expressed the Geez words in the Arabic or Hebrew manner. But the history of attaching to each consonant a particular mark, expressing each of the vowels, is extremely curious, as it exhibits the highest improvement of the pointing system.

For many ages after the invention of letters, we know of no language to which they were applied, except the dialects of that general tongue, which appears from Moses to have been spoken by Noah. These were the Hebrew, Phœnician, Chaldee, Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic, all nearly allied, and of the same race. In fact, the alphabet, in its earliest form, affords proof that it had been invented for some of these. The vowels are very remarkable parts of words; but he who first analysed articulate speech into its component parts, appears to have analysed either the Phœnician or Hebrew; and to have discovered, from the peculiar texture of their radicals, that the vowels might be suppressed; that the consonants would sufficiently point out the omission to a practised reader, and furnish a compendium in writing: And accordingly, in this manner, all those dialects have ever been written.

The first foreign language, to which the Phœnician alphabet was applied, appears to have been the Greek. The history of Cadmus is generally known; but the change which was effected in the order and form of his alphabet, has excited little attention. The Greek is so full of vowels, that were the consonants only expressed, it would be altogether unintelligible to the reader. As the Phœnician names of the letters were imported with the characters themselves, it occurred to the first writers of Greek, that certain characters, not very requisite in their original sound, might serve to denote the first vowel in their name. Alpha and Iota lost the very slender aspiration which they originally had in Phœnician, to supply the place of A and I. He dropt its guttural sound for the short vowel E found in its name. Heth, the strong harsh aspiration of the Tyrians and Hebrews, long retained its power as H, the *spiritus asper* of the Greeks; at last, however, this character was applied to mark

which are taken in this order; u, i, â, ê, ĕ, and ō. Even the simple letter, without any change in figure, is understood to imply the short vowel ă; and is so used in writing. Thus no word can be spelled in this alphabet in which two consonants come together without a vowel between them; though the natives elide in pronunciation certain vowels which the writer is obliged to express by the nature of the letters, wherever custom and the rules of the spoken language permit it to be done. A stranger cannot make these elisions accurately, unless he have heard the word pronounced, and the accent laid on the proper syllable. Long vowels are never omitted in pronunciation; short ones frequently are, especially that which is at the end of a word. The elisions in the preceding Table are very few, and never made but on some kind of authority. The consonants are expressed by the letter most nearly corresponding to each in English, and the vowel or dipthong following,

ἦτα, or *e* long. Characters for the remaining vowels were obtained by the same process; and from this new form of the alphabet, descended all the European varieties.

But when the Greek language and literature became current in Syria, and other countries of the East, these nations saw the deficient state of their ancient orthography, and endeavoured to correct it by writing *the Greek vowels* in a smaller hand, above or below the consonants of their native alphabet. This curious method, the parent of the Masoretic, Syriac, and Arabic pointing, may be traced in *Crinesii Gram. Syriacum*; *de Vocal prope init.*

Expedition and improvement soon rendered the figures of these borrowed vowels very simple and rude; but the practice was eagerly embraced by the Jewish doctors, who longed to embalm their sacred tongue, and fix for ever its traditional pronunciation. They speedily multiplied the original figures; but under all the changes which these have undergone, a patient observer may discern, that the principal vowel points retain a slight resemblance of form; and exactly the position above or below the consonant which the Greek vowels occupied in the Syriac MSS. But the last and greatest stage of improvement was, to fix these separate points to the consonant itself. This was accomplished by the formers of the Geez, or Ethiopic alphabet, who applied the vowel points to the Greek letters; and hence every consonant received six variations in its figure, corresponding to the six vowels in the language. It requires nothing but a very slight ocular examination, to convince any observer, that all the change of figure in the consonants of the Geez alphabet, is entirely owing to the addition of the vowel point, however diversified each of these may appear. Dr Bernard's table of the ancient alphabets sufficiently confirms the truth of this assertion.

by the value given it in Ludolf's Grammar, p. 2. (Edit. 2. A. D. 1702;) and explained from p. 3—22.

The vowel following the simple figure of each letter is sounded like a in hat, or e in bet. The others are sounded, u, like u in full; i, like ee in feel; â, like a in hall; ê, like e in mail, or in the French words fête and bête. ĕ is pronounced as ŭ in the French words butin and feu: it is a thick obtuse sound, extremely common in Abyssinia, and among the African Moors. The thick lips of the Negroes, added to a violent manner of articulation peculiar to the Arabs, Moors, Abyssinians, native blacks, and perhaps to all nations within the torrid zone, make the obscure sound of the vowel, which more or less must attend the pronunciation of every hard consonant, much more perceptible than in Britain. This smart manner of articulating may be observed in a good speaker of English, contrasted with the drawl of a Scotch peasant. It is quite obvious in the mouth of a Frenchman or Italian. In the mouth of a black African Arab, whom I once heard speak his native language, it was striking beyond description; and illustrates, in the clearest manner, the reason why Mr Bruce writes Yagoubĕ for Yakôub, awide, for awîd, Yasinĕ for Yasîn, Mussowa for Masuah, Gouttŏ for Gouta. In these words the natives articulate a short obtuse e, like the French e mute; and often change a and o into the same kind of vowel.

The Ethiopic consonants haf and kef, I have expressed by k; hoi, harm, and haut, by h; though these, in English, are only approximations to their true sounds, which differ from one another in degree, and from every English articulation. Wherever quh, ts, sh, dj, tch, or tsh, occur, they stand respectively for the Ethiopic and Amharic letters, cwa, dipthong; tsadai, and tsappa; shat (Amh.); djent; and tchawi, or tchait; which are pronounced as wh in when, sh in shall, j, or dge, in judge, and ch in church; but with much more force and harshness. For the Ethiopic and Amhâric alphabet, including the letters used by both eastern and southern Habbesh, see Plate IV.; and for the names and sounds of the letters, Appendix, No. L.

No. XLVII.

PART II.

Vocabulary of the Galla Language.

The nations which inhabit the interior of Africa, notwithstanding the adventurous spirit of British discovery, are likely to continue long in their native obscurity. This continent, which in ancient times produced the earliest specimen of civilized society, at present opens its shores only to reveal the degraded state of its inhabitants, and the unscrupulous character of Christian commerce. Navigation has furnished us with some intelligence respecting the natives of the Cape, which has long been an European settlement; the Moorish kingdoms, north of the Great Desart, have been laid open by their vicinity to our own continent; and those nations, which inhabit the western coast for eighteen degrees, on either side of the line, are frequently visited by the English and Portuguese. The eastern shores have likewise been explored by the fleets of Portugal; to the activity of which we owe the first information respecting Abyssinia and the maritime tribes, from the Straits of the Indian Ocean to the Cape. Except the scanty knowledge of the boundaries of Africa, obtained in the manner here mentioned, and the recent accounts of a few travellers, who have attempted to penetrate into the heart of a barbarous region, at the hazard of their lives, we are profoundly ignorant of the natural and moral situation of Africa. The interior, south of the Niger to S. Lat. 20°, is an immense blank in geography, in which science has not been able to insert the name of a single place.

The Moors, or Arabs, whose character and language are well known, have taken possession of Africa nearly to the tenth degree of north latitude. The aboriginal inhabitants, north of the Niger, are found chiefly in the mountains, still preserving their Pagan manners and superstitions.

Unless an accurate survey be made of all the tribes in a barbarous country, and their languages be carefully compared, no conclusions can be drawn respecting the various races which inhabit it. In the present instance, very few of the native tribes are known to Europeans even by name; all attempts to trace the relation of any particular clan are therefore impossible.

The scanty knowledge we possess of the eastern and western shores of Africa, in the region of the Line, would lead us to suppose, that the central country is mountainous, intersected with deep and extensive vallies, and large streams, whose banks have all the wild luxuriance of warm rainy climates. All the kingdoms that lie around the Gulf of Guinea are well watered, and, consequently, fertile in a high degree. South of these, the countries of Loango, Congo, Ngolo, and Benguela, where the Portuguese have settled, merit a similar character; which, undoubtedly, may be extended across the interior to the countries of Mozambico, Querimba, and Zanguebar, on the opposite eastern shore. The central range of Kong, seen by Mr Park in N. Lat. 10°, probably joins the mountains of Donga in N. Lat. 8°, whence some geographers trace the western branch of the Nile. All the interior of Africa between the tropics must be full of rivers, woods, and ravines, on account of the rains which inundate it during the winter season. Accordingly, we observe abundance of streams in these latitudes, which enter the ocean on either side. The rivers in the west are, however, considerably larger than those in the east; and it is worthy of observation, that Africa seems to be colder, and much less fertile, on the eastern than on the western shore. Abyssinia, though within eleven degrees of the Line, is, in general, full of bold, irregular mountains, and less encumbered with forests than might be expected. The southern provinces, at present occupied by the Galla, are bare and pastoral, rather than woody. Beyond the country of Narea the land rises; but what nations stretch behind it through the centre of the continent to the ki gdom of Congo, is utterly unknown.

The fervent heats of the Torrid Zone have long been reckoned injurious to the vigour of the human frame. No opinion, however, is more destitute of foundation; as is sufficiently proven by the histories of the

Giaga and Galla. Beneath the Line, Africa possesses hordes of savages, the terror of whose arms reaches from sea to sea.

It is not certain from what particular region of Africa the Galla moved in their progress towards Abyssinia. All that is known is, their advancing northward from the vicinity of the Line, in the state of a warlike pastoral nation. The country whence they came may probably border on Matamba, on the river Congo, where the Giaga reside. The distance between this and Narea, the frontier of ancient Abyssinia, is immense; and we are totally ignorant what savage nations inhabit the intervening territory. Our accounts of the Giagas are imperfect, and lead us to suppose, that the artificial kind of society, which they are reported to maintain, by excluding women, and adopting the children of the people they have subdued and massacred, can be the features only of one tribe, or rather of a particular marauding party. There is no specimen of their language given by Battel, or other travellers, which may be compared with the Galla. It is therefore, more from the general ferocity of the Galla and Giaga, that their affinity has been inferred, than from any positive evidence; for the etymology of the words Agag, Giaga, Jaga, Agalla, and the like, is evidently imaginary.

Though the Galla first appeared in the kingdom of Bali, on the northwest of Fatigar, and near the sea coast, it cannot be doubted, that they spread around Abyssinia from the river Kibbee and Narea. They were, before that time, divided, as all rude nations are, into tribes, clans, and families. The names of many of these occur in the Abyssinian histories; but it is often uncertain whether they belong to a clan or a single village.

About the beginning of the last century, Yasous the Great, in his frequent expeditions into the Galla country, found some tribes who were willing to become his subjects, and wage perpetual war against their countrymen. These he brought over the Nile, and placed in Damot and Gojam, along the steep northern banks of the river, to guard them against the depredations of the Galla of Bizamo. From that time, though they frequently have rebelled, the Yaleman and Densa have gained ground, not only in Damot and Gojam, but in the fine pastoral country near the lake of Dembea, which they now call Maitsha.

The language of all the Galla, both on the south-east and south-west of Habbesh, appears to be the same. Some variety must, however, exist between that of the Boren and Bertuma tribes. The vocabulary here given is in the dialect of the clan of Maitsha, who have been baptized, and profess a kind of Christianity. It has borrowed several words from the Amharic, though these are by no means numerous. As it is the language of a very powerful African nation, it deserves more attention than any of the insulated dialects used in Abyssinia; and some acquaintance with it may perhaps be of service to future explorers of the interior of Africa. A few sentences from the Song of Solomon, translated into Galla by scribes employed by Mr Bruce, are given in Plates No. IV. V. and VI. The words marked with an asterisk are from the Ethiopic, or Amharic*.

English.	*Galla.*	*English.*	*Galla.*	*English.*	*Galla.*
God	Wakayou	A woman	Naduena	To fear	Soda
The sun	Adu	A daughter	Lakaba	To love	Djelala
The moon	Djea	A son	Yalema	To drink	Dugi
A star	Urdi	A husband	Wabolesa	Eat	Naduu
Wind	Bube	Sister	Waboleti	Be drunk	Matche
Rain	Roba	Father	Aba	Run	Mazila *or* wutalasha
Lightning	Bekeka	Mother	Fedua		
Clouds	Dumesa	Lover	Mitchu	Fly	Batchu
Earth	Lafe	The head	Mata	Swim	Deka
A mountain	Tulo	Hair	Rafinsa	Walk	Aduma
Iron	Sibila	Eye	Yadje	Wash	Ikatchu
Gold	Werke*	Nose	Fennan	Die	Due
Silver	Meti	Mouth	Afuni*	Be buried	Awalame
A stone	Daga	Tooth	Yalecan	Hide	Dakete
Fire	Yabid	Lip	Hidea	Dance	Sirbe
Smoke	Ara	Tongue	Ariba	Sing	Burake
A tree	Muka	Voice	Segle	Laugh	Gamade
A wood	Tcheka	Ear	Gura	Be sad	Ufedjebe
A valley	Halya	Beard	Arada	Weep	Bofele
A plain	Dida	Throat	Morma	Lament	Boe
A tent	Dunkwani*	Shoulder	Tcheku	Curse	Arbase
Grass	Magera	Arm	Herke	Bless	Barke*
Fruit	Friani*	Elbow	Tchekle	Marry	Kadimia

* The Toluma Galla seem to take their name from Tulo, a mountain, as they inhabit the hilly country south of Amhara. The word Yalema, or Elma, signifies a son, and is prefixed to all the tribes, as Welled among the Arabs, and Beni among the Jews. Mata, in Galla, denotes the head; whence Moti, a king or captain, in the usual sense of the Abyssinian Ras.

English.	*Galla.*	*English.*	*Galla.*	*English.*	*Galla.*
A flower	Darara	Hand	Yare	Be with child	Oulefofate
A bee	Keniza	Finger	Kensa	Bring forth	Dese
Honey	Dagema	A man's breast	Koma	Forget	Rafidue
Wheat	Kamadi			Remember	Yade
Indian corn	Misnaga	A woman's breast	Harma	Be sick	Akufsadee
Barley	Garbu			To hear	Dageya
Pease	Shimbra *	The back	Dugeda	See	Agera
Bread	Budena	The belly	Gera	Smell	Urgesa
Water	Bisani	Bowels	Maremani	Speak	Debdea
A river	Lagea	Heart	Kelabi	Stand	Ekama
A fountain	Burka	Blood	Goga	Come	Kotu
A well	Waserbi	Thigh	Gudeda	Go	Kaki
A fish	Kurtumi	Leg	Sarba	Circumcise	Dakankab-atchu
A horse	Firda *	Foot	Fena		
An ass	Hare	Heel	Makanne	Believe	Amana *
A mule	Gans a	Toes	Lafe	To lie	Sobada
A camel	Gamle *	Year	Uga	To swear	Keku
A cow	Saa	Month	Djea	Near	Ihena
A calf	Djebi	Week	Terbani	Far	Fegena
An ox	Kotiyau	Day	Guya	Upper	Yara
A sheep	Hola	Winter	Gana	Under	Garidala
A lamb	Yaleman hola	Summer	Bona	Open	Alidjata
A goat	Re	Mid-day	Guyawa laka	Shut	Gadidjatcha
A kid	Yaleman re	Midnight	Halekan wa-laka	Before	Fela
A horn	Gafi			Behind	Duba
The hoof	Kenso	Morning	Dirma	Little	Tina
A lion	Lentsho	Evening	Gelgela	Tall or big	Guda
A dog	Sare	To kill	Adjatcha	Rich	Duresa
A locust	Awanisa	To rob	Hana	Poor	Heyasa
A frog	Rata	To cut	Mure	Dark	Dukana
A bird	Sembro	To burn	Cabame	Light	Ife
A man	Nama	To fight	Sia	Deep	Kile
Long	Era	Ugly	Hama	Warm	Kamkamatch
Short	Gebaba	Strong	Djeba	Cold	Damotcha
Heavy	Ulefanna	Weak	Dadaba	Red	Miraga
Light	Sablaa	Deaf	Duda	Green	Safafu
Bitter	Hadua	Wild	Djema	Yellow	Betche
Sweet	Mia	Tame	Hokola	Blue	Samaya
Much	Gudina	Dry	Goga	White	Adi
Little	Tinanna	Moist	Didea	Black	Guratcha
Beautiful	Gara				

No. XLVIII.

Additional Articles of Natural History, published in the Second Edition of Mr Bruce's Travels, 1805.

The number of beasts, birds, fishes, and plants, which Mr Bruce delineated in the course of his travels in Abyssinia, would appear incredible, if he had not brought home his drawings to attest his assiduity in that particular. Although he was not long in the vicinity of the Red Sea, he drew above thirty kinds of fishes found in it, and collected a great number of its marine productions. As soon as they left Masuah, he and his assistant Balugani began to draw every rare animal, plant, and bird, which they could discover. They were not scientific botanists nor naturalists, but they proceeded on a just and infallible plan. They painted accurately and beautifully every object which they reckoned curious. They attempted no classification; but all who have seen their drawings have owned, that they are such as few painters could equal at their leisure, with every opportunity of time and situation.

The whole collection of natural history which Mr Bruce drew in Barbary, Arabia, and Abyssinia, amounts to about three hundred articles. Of these the plants and birds make the greater part; but all are so highly finished, as to excite the greatest admiration with respect to his taste and abilities.

One inconvenience, however, attended Mr Bruce's exertions as a naturalist. He was able to draw any rare production of the country in which he travelled; but his information respecting the history of that production was very scanty. He could not stay to watch the annual progress of a tree, from which he pulled a branch as he passed along; nor study the nature of a bird which he had shot by the road; yet whatever he had learned concerning these he recorded. He always committed to paper a short description of whatever was drawn by him and his assistant, and, in general, on the paper which contained the sketch.

If his entire collection had been published by himself, or by some eminent naturalist, who could have arranged the different articles, according to the Linnean system, and made observations on their genera and species, it would have furnished a splendid proof of his industry and care, as well as a considerable addition to natural knowledge. As books of this kind, however, are interesting only to a small number of readers, and as the engraving renders them very expensive, Mr Bruce did not think it prudent to publish these drawings at his own risk, but contented himself with the selection given in the Appendix to the Travels. The same reason prevented him from obliging the public with the numerous drawings of ruined architecture which he had made at Paestum, Baalbec, Palmyra, and in Barbary.

A catalogue of the Arabic and Æthiopic names of the plants, birds, fishes, &c. in his collection of drawings, would afford little information to the reader; especially as these names cannot be translated without considerable danger of mistake. Some account of the times and places at which a few of the articles were drawn, will give an imperfect idea of that which he has done in general.

At Imbo, the fishes called dween, nagel, mulluss, elhudderi, geboul, imshaile, hubbar, and aboubishaitey. At Jidda, the fishes, arid, harid, suhall, zeezan, &c. At Loheia, the farr, kossar, bohalla, kenneff, gheet, cottone, deek aboujubbe, guneef, and markeet, with many other fishes taken there, and at Rabac, Cossir, and other ports.

Of the plants, the papyrus, near Sidon, July 29th, 1767; the musa, or banana, Sidon, July 31st, same year. In Egypt, the sunt and saiel acacias; the lif, hodweg, and felfel. The doom, or palma cuciofera, at Sibt. The meim mesalib, or grass of the cross, and the myrrh tree at Masuah. In the way to Gondar, the agam, abbeselim, leham, terrah, and endoud, of the jassmine tribe; the dehhack and erret, two species of aloes, (Mussanda;) the suf, a thistle with yellow flowers, with which they dye cloth; the nook, of which they make oil; the angoule and ombuay, with the berries of which they tan leather. To these may be added the wanzey, (cordia,) described in the author's Appendix; the aquariti, a tree bearing a white flower, and long-shaped fruit, with which the Abyssinians dye their fingers, or nails; the cusso, a purgative tree, found at the Tacazzi; the

angua, described hereafter; the canjeb, a tree which produces a milky juice, said to be exceedingly hurtful to the eyes; the kummel, (mimusops;) the merjombey, a species of solanum; the bohah, a tree bearing small seeds like dora, which are eaten; the gagudei and gaveira, the last of which seems to be the wild olive, both found on Lamalmon, and many more on the way to Gondar.

At Gondar were drawn the daroo tree, which stands in the public square; the grawa, a tree with the leaves of which they season beer, or bouza; the Ghesh used for the same purpose, and the Alzazo, a large tree, with pieces of which the women perfume their clothes.

At Emfras, Mr Bruce drew the semec, a creeping plant; and in the island of Mitraha, in the lake of Dembea, several kinds of shongourt (allium); as also a large tree, named selchienn. In the journey to the fountains he obtained the enset, woginus, erget, and several more in Agow-midre. At Geesh he found the krihaha; the hà, a kind of willow; the atatt, a large tree; the effarazengh, or egiv shonkourt, a sort of aloes; with many plants, Nov. 1770.

Other plants, drawn by him and his assistant in that country, were, the umfar, or amfar, at Addua; the coshillilla, a species of thistle; the tambo, or mzena, a herb used in incantation by the Falasha; the logheta and menzi species of aleander; the feel-fetch, a kind of hypericum; the dangheeli, a rush found at Addua; the atemobiss, a species of acacia; the dembelal, coriander; the ushish, a creeping plant with tentacula; the dorwan, or larkspur; the aitan balalitti, or scented nettle, found at Mai-agam; the cassia fistula: the semezza, of the justicia genus; the leef, a creeping plant; the yeyadeetch, tsadjesar, &c. &c.

Of birds, the collection contains many drawings; but the names of very few of them are known. The beautiful plumage of these inhabitants of the tropical skies is finely represented, with great honour to the artist who painted them. Amongst others, are drawings of the pelican, flamingo, guinea-fowl of Habbesh, Riggobee dove, azzazu finches, benghalus angolensis, baganis, gaddit-goutoo, a bird of the same species; the Abyssinia gros-beak, or moloxita; yellow Bagla finch, corvus afer, the finch called worrabee, the awl-nebbed choka, the cirthia Phillippina, and cirthia violacea, the merops viridis, the red-billed promerops, le

petit guepier de Philippines, the African jacana, the parra Senegallica, the muscicepa mutata, called halol; the seitan phares, or secretary bird; several kinds of owls, called gogua and gogutta in Abyssinia; and different birds of the eagle and vulture species. It is indeed impossible to convey any idea adequate to the merits of this part of the collection without entering into a complete enumeration and arrangement of the articles.

Besides the animals described by Mr Bruce in the Appendix to his work, he possessed several drawings of others found in Barbary and Abyssinia; such as the faadh, or panther; the madoqua, bohur, and fecho, species of the antelope, &c.

Those literary men, who have spoken with so much acrimony of the incapacity of Mr Bruce as a naturalist, ought to have considered that three hundred accurate drawings of natural history, all equal to the small portion of them engraved for his printed work, and most of them finished in the country where they were sketched, is such an effort in favour of science as few travellers have ever made.

The following addition to the author's Appendix scarcely deserves the name of a selection of the rarest articles in his extensive list. The accounts of the cassia fistula, and houbarra, were written by himself for the second edition, which he was preparing, at the time when his death interrupted all further progress in that design. The other subjects have been chosen, partly on account of their descriptions having been made out at considerable length, on the papers upon which they were first sketched by Mr Bruce's assistant, and partly on account of the uses to which a few of them are applied by the Abyssinians. The descriptions are translated from the Italian. They are not, indeed, so complete as could be wished; and the editor might have enlarged them, with conjectural remarks, were it not apparent to every reader, that such observations, from a person who has never been in the countries in which the articles themselves are found, could neither be very instructive nor accurate.

CASSIA FISTULA*.

The Cassia Fistula is another tree, concerning which many ill-founded errors have been propagated. Although it grows in Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, yet it is a stranger in all these places. Abyssinia is its native soil; from which, like the incense, coffee, myrrh, and many others, it has been transplanted; but the goodness of the drug, which it produces in all those countries, is in proportion to the nearness to its native soil. Two of the most beautiful trees of it that I ever saw grew in the garden of Mattareah, in Cairo. They were taller, firmer, and cleaner like in the bark than those I have seen in Arabia, or Abyssinia. From them, then, as perfect in all its parts, I shall describe the tree.

The cassia fistula grows tall and straight, equal to one of our ash trees; neither is its bark very dissimilar, from its being of a bluish white, of the colour of burnt ashes, not in any shape furrowed or wrinkled, as the thorny trees of these countries generally are. This has no thorn; the branches that annually shoot out, and bear the flower, and then the fruit, are of a reddish colour, dark, and unvarnished, soft, and succulent; the leaves, too, that are young and new, are of this colour.

These branches shoot very irregularly from the tree; the leaves are two by two on the stalk, terminated by a single one on the point; the flowers grow upon a long naked stalk, which does not appear to have much strength; each flower is set single at the end of a stalk upon a perianthium, or calix of five leaves, nearly oval, or having a very blunt point.

These stalks, that support the flower, proceed irregularly from the longest stem, and are not two by two as are the leaves. The flower consists of five leaves, of a beautiful golden colour, which, when closed, is of a very agreeable globular form, a little upon the oval.

The pistil arises from the middle of the cup, and crooks when turned into the fruit pretty much in form of a sickle; it thickens as it ripens to the diameter of about half an inch, full of knots, or divisions. In this

* Plate, No. VII.

a sweet blackish pulp is confined, which is the juice of the cassia. Entangled in the pulp are small seeds of a brown colour, in the form of a heart, which, as the pulp dries and expresses them into its several cavities, where these seeds are lodged, rattle and sound when they are shaken, which is only a sign that they are dry; and perhaps the time of pulling the fruit, when it is at its best, is before the juice is so dried as to leave the naked seeds liberty to make that sound.

This long pod, which the pistil grows into, is what keeps the juice about four months fresh. The pulp, the fresher and sweeter the better, is the favourite cathartic of the East. Above the pistil are three stamina, each with a large stigma and very fine farina upon it: these curve over the pistil, and are almost shaped like it. Below the pistil are four shorter stamina, which I never saw shoot to any length. Some authors, that pretend to have seen better, say, that these stamina turn all straight when the fruit ripens; but this I cannot say I ever saw. On the contrary, when the fruit, or pod, has scarcely acquired any consistence, the stamina, both large and small, were all fallen off, and appeared with the flowers of the calix, as seen by the figure. The leaves are pointed, pretty highly varnished, and marked with frequent ribs, which are not deep marked on either side.

Some authors have amused themselves with a fanciful division of this fruit and tree into Egyptian, Levantine, Brazilian, and cassia of the islands; and the truth is, they have forgot, or omitted, the only true kind that exists, which is the Ethiopic or Abyssinian. Thence it came an adventitious acquisition into Egypt, which, as I have often said, had no tree natural to it; thence it was carried by the Portuguese into Asia, upon their conquest of India, and settlement of Abyssinia; and followed their conquests and discovery of the Islands and Brazil.

It has been confounded with cinnamon from its name; that is, with that bastard kind of cinnamon, called, by the Italians, canella, which, notwithstanding what Bellonius says, and before him Pliny, grows plentifully among the incense and myrrh, at Cape Gardefui, the Mosylon Promontorium, or Promontorium Aromatum; and here only the distinction obtains of mountain cassia, and that which grows on the plain. This second sort is very near equal to that of Ceylon, if it is not abso-

lutely so; and both sorts grow in the island of Ceylon likewise, where the canella, or zelo cassia, that is, cassia lignea, grows also, of a woody earthy taste, not better than that of the same kind which grows at the Cape before mentioned; and I do really believe, that, as the cinnamon tree was from the earliest antiquity declared to be part of the produce of the Promontorium Aromatum, it was originally brought from thence, and planted in the island of Ceylon, where it grows in some part of the island only.

Ptolemy Evergetes, who knew both kinds well from the commerce carried on both from Alexandria and the mouth of the Red Sea, mentions expressly, in the Adelan inscription, that he had conquered the country of the Troglodytes, near the Cape, expressly that which bore cinnamon. I have seen and compared both sorts from both places, as well the island of Ceylon as Cape Gardefui. I apprehend this was the aromatic which is in scripture coupled with the aloes, and was brought by the queen of Saba to Solomon, as part of the produce of her country; though it is probable the climate of Judea would not gratify that great prince, in allowing him to propagate it there, as he did the balsam. It is the similarity of names that has created the confusion; for surely the cassia I am now speaking of, the cathartic drug, was not presented to Solomon as spices, or an aromatic; though, if the aloes was really the the aloes of Socotra, this observation would be the less founded. However that be, it seems to admit of little dispute, that the zelo cassia was the bastard, or wild cinnamon, and that the Κασσια συριγη, which is literally rendered by the Latin cassia fistula, is the same now described presently, and vulgarly called the *pudding pipe tree.*

THE LEHAM, OR TOBERNE MONTANA*.

This branch, of a very beautiful Abyssinian tree, was drawn in the evening of the 18th of May, 1770, at Lamgue, close by the lake of Dembea. The army had passed Emfras, where Mr Bruce then resided,

Plate, No. VIII.

four days before; the country was laid waste in every direction; and as there was no safety out of the camp, he had determined to follow it, in hopes of reaching the sources of the Nile. His own account of the march may be found, Travels, Book VI. chap. 3. In these days of destruction, when the Ras, in a monarch's spirit, cried havoc, and let slip the dogs of war! the traveller, not altogether an unconcerned spectator of what was passing around him, nor incapable of comparing the beauty of the country with the savage character of its inhabitants, felt many emotions which description cannot express. The lake of Tzana is surrounded by plain and fertile shores, overflowed in the rainy season, but covered with fine pasture and blooming woods in the dry. At some distance from the east bank, little hills and elevated ground begin to appear. The wild tract of Balessan joins to Foggara; and the mountains of Lasta are discovered behind it. Great variety of odoriferous flowering trees and shrubs adorn the plains; the blue expanse of the lake interspersed with islands, the villages placed on the eminences which overlook the cultivated country below, are transiently mentioned by the author as features of the landscape which was then around his tent. But however lovely the situation, it could communicate little pleasure to a mind far from civilized society, pursuing fame in a land of barbarians, at the danger of life itself.

"Behind Lamgue is a very extensive plain, adorned with fine trees of more than ordinary size, white as snow with flowers; the odour of which, resembling that of jessamin, was distinctly perceptible as soon as we got down to the plain from Emfras. These trees are called Leham. Nothing can exceed their beauty or fragrance. At the extremity of each little branch, they bear a prodigious quantity of long white flowers. These have a little stem, about two lines and a half long, on which is the perianthium, composed of five leaflets, terminating in a point, one line and a half in length each, and all green. The flower has a long body, nearly an inch, of a yellowish colour, from the extremity of which it divides into five white leaves, an inch and three lines long, and about two lines broad, each ending in a round point. The interior of the body is all yellow; and the same colour streams out in a line along a fourth part of each of the white petals. Within the case attached to the perianthium

is the calix, and the pistillum, about a line and a half long, of a bright green, which at the extremity has a head divided into two parts, each two-thirds of a line in length. In the interior parietes of the case are attached five stamina, one-fourth of a line in length, which have each a lanceolated head, its length one line. The foot of the stamina is two lines higher up than the bottom of the case. The young branches that bear the leaves are green; the rest are green and russet. The leaves are of a very beautiful varnished green on the right side, and of a fine, but paler green on the reverse. Their principal fibres are yellowish on both sides. The tree bears many branches, which spring out close to the earth. It becomes very large; its branches have their extremities trailing on the ground. It is loaden with flowers, from top to bottom, in great profusion. Each bouquet, or cluster, of these contains between 85 and 90, open or shut. The fruit is eaten, and has somewhat of a harsh taste. The flower has likewise a very agreeable fragrance, but a little harsh.

THE KRIHAHA*.

The history of the Agow nation, which possesses the rich country around one of the principal sources of the Abawi, is very little known. The language and manners of this people are different from those of the Abyssinians; they are not derived from Arabia, but from the African continent. If we may depend on a plausible passage in Cosmas Indoplaustes, they were subject to the king of Axum in the year 530. All the information which we have of them is given by Mr Bruce. They were slightly mentioned by the Jesuits and Ludolf; who, however, take notice of their conversion to Christianity during the reign of Susneus. That conversion was only nominal; they retained their Pagan rites as long as their liberty; at the loss of which they were driven in crowds to the Nile, and baptised in the name of the Trinity.

* Plates, No. IX. and X.

The altar, at the source of the Abawi, was overturned, and the annual sacrifice abolished. But the people, ignorant of true Christianity, found out the art of mixing their old and new religion together. A compound of these they profess at this day. They adore the genius of the river, and swear by it as the other Abyssinians do by God and the king.

It appears, from the letter of Ras Sela-christos to the emperor Sultan Segued, or Susneus, that they also worshipped a certain cane, or bamboo, which was found in their country.

Great plantations of this deity grow in the front of the precipice at Sakalla. These canes are of great use in making the roofs of houses, being long, firm, and light. Some of them are about ten inches in circumference, and perfectly straight.

The krihaha grows to the thickness of three or four inches diameter. Its length extends to fifty-five feet; it has knots, or joints, of a foot and a half, sometimes two, or two and a half long. The lowest joints are shortest, and those in the middle longest. From each of the knots springs a growth of secondary branches, of ten or twelve at each. Those in the middle of the tree are about five or six feet in length; and all the rest upwards gradually decrease to the topmost knot, whose shoots are about two feet long. Each of the shoots have knots of four or five inches a piece, from every one of which spring four or five smaller branches. Every one of these small branches have four or five leaves, disposed in the manner represented in Plate X. Their colour is green, like that of the blade of corn; the reverse is a little lighter and paler. They are striated longitudinally throughout. When this cane is young it is green; but when it advances in age it becomes yellowish, and then dark-coloured. The secondary branches make a similar progress. The root goes very deep, and sends out a quantity of small ones, as delineated in the Plate, No. X. which rise upwards after having left the stem. The colour of these is yellow, a little deeper than that of straw.

These canes, when young, have at every knot a large leaf which surrounds the stem, and terminates in a point. All around the foot of this leaf is covered with a very fine pile, or hair, like velvet; the point and edge of the leaf itself has the same defence; but the hair on the sides of the leaf are smaller and thinner. I have not seen the leaf have any but

a light straw-colour; the hairs have that of dried coffee-beans. When young, the leaf is probably more vivid; but the straw-colour seems to prevail. These large leaves remain on the canes but a short time; for the secondary branches coming out at an angle of about 45 degrees between them and the cane, soon destroy them. It was in flower in the Abyssinian month Miazia, corresponding to our April. To-day, the 5th of November, they are in the state described above. They are found in the cliff or brow of a rugged hill, that looks S., S. E., and E. The interior of these leaves shines with a high polish. We have measured one of the smallest of the canes, and found its diameter two inches, its length thirty-two feet, its longest joint two feet two inches.

ANGUAH.

The Plate (No. XI.) represents a branch of a tree found near the river Tacazzi, called Anguah. The Abyssinians believe it to be that which bears the true frankincense; in reality, it produces a gum much resembling it. This branch carries young green leaves velveted on both sides. The right side is of a lively green, inclining to yellow, and as bright as if varnished; the reverse of the leaf is of a green equally lively, but much fairer than that of the right. The stalks of the leaves are of a greenish colour, very fair, except at the foot, where they are reddish. The fibres of the leaves are much raised, and of a fair or whiter green, like the stalks of these. The bark of the branches and trunk is whitish, and as thin as paper; beneath it is another bark of a fair green colour. From the extremity of the principal branches arise five or six small ones, of a fair green, but of rose-red colour on the side exposed to the sun. Above these it sends out a great many small flowerets, supported by a red slip. The perianthium is red, and below greenish, divided into five leaflets. The flower has five red leaves with white borders. The interior of each of these is nearly white. The pistillum is green, and the stamina have a yellow head. All the red is of a rose-colour. The main branch is of a yellowish cast; it has two or three barks, one above another, thin like paper. The seeds are represented in the capsulæ as they

were found on the left side of the branch. The second plate (No. XII.) gives a view of them ripe, and about to fall out.

THE GHESH*

Is a tree quite common in Abyssinia; the leaves of which the people are accustomed to put in their hydromel, or mead. It is not of a large but middling size. The bark is of an obscure ashy colour. At the extremity of the branches it sends out sprigs, which, when young, are of a slightly red colour. Their distribution upon the sprigs is triangular, but not in the same plane, or not at the same height, but rather at unequal distances; two of them being generally three lines one above another, and the third about six lines distant from these. Each of them has a stalk about two or three lines long, of a very clear green. The leaves are of a very irregular figure; some more round, others more oblong; some are only half an inch, others two, or even three inches, and yet on the same stems. Their colour is of a deep green, but unfixed; and on the reverse lighter, approaching to yellow; on both sides highly varnished. The leaves next to the extremity of the branch are of a lighter green, but very changeable and uncertain. The flower has five leaves, in a star-like form, and is about two lines in diameter. In the centre it has an ovary of about a quarter of a line in diameter, from which rises a pistillum, three-fourths of a line in length, terminated by five leaves nearly imperceptible. The whole flower is of a greenish colour, and the foot-stalk of it is a light red. The flowers spring from the principal branch at the places where the stalks of the leaves come from it; six flower-stalks at each leaf, some longer than others; the longest about six, and the shortest about two lines. While undisclosed, the flower hangs in an oval form, terminating in a point; and it would seem that the foot-stalk lengthens as the flower approaches maturity. The above is a description of the tree as it appeared at Gondar on the 28th of June, 1770.

* Plate, No. XIII.

The leaves of the Ghesh are bitter and harsh-tasted. They are reduced to powder, and mixed with the mass from which the Abyssinians make bouza.

THE MERJOMBEY, (SOLANUM*,)

Is a small tree, or shrub, found on Lamalmon, in a place called Maccara. The Abyssinians use it as a cathartic, mixing its fruit with several other ingredients not yet known to us. The trunk is not very thick; it sends out many branches, covered with abundance of leaves, but in an irregular manner. From a single point it sometimes sends out five or six leaves, that have for their base a small slip, which divides into as many stalks as there are leaves. These last are of very different sizes; in general, the largest, and the divisions from it which carry fruit, arise all from one place. It is of an ashy colour, inclining a little to green, and streaked in an interrupted manner with small obscure lines. The extremity of those sprigs is covered with a fine, but very rough down. The colour of the leaves is a beautiful green, but with little lustre; the reverse of them is a lighter green. The fibre in the middle is very distinct on the right side of the leaf, and whitish; on the reverse all the fibres are very distinct and large, and of a colour approaching to white. All the leaves are equally covered with down, but a little thinner than that of the sprigs. From the principal sprigs go out other small ones, two or three inches in length, making an angle of about 60 deg. with the part which is towards the extremity of the large sprig or branch. From these small sprigs arise six or seven still smaller, that bear the fruit. These last are all bent back towards the principal sprig or stem. They are about an inch long; on the end of them are the leaves of the perianthion, which terminate each in a point, and are about four lines in length. These embrace the fruit, which is very globular, and somewhat smaller than a cherry. While unripe, it is of a very bright and beautiful green, varnished and covered with small white hairs, very

* Plate, No. XIV.

strong. This fruit is all streaked with longitudinal irregular lines, of a very deep green. Its interior has in the middle a round woody core, (colonna,) about which, to the bark on the outside, are abundance of seeds of a round broad form. The interstices are full of a very viscous green substance. When ripe, the fruit assumes a deep orange colour. All the stems, as well the principal as the small, are clad with spinæ, or prickles, two, three, and even five lines in length, of a dead yellow colour. The whole perianthium and leaves, on both sides, are also covered with prickles, disposed by threes and fours upon the middle fibre.

THE NUK *.

This plant is called, in Abyssinia, Nuge; it is the principal source of their vegetable oil; but the process of extracting it is not mentioned in Mr Bruce's papers. It is also to be regretted, that only a fragment of the description, by Balugani, could be recovered; the rest being either mislaid, or destroyed.

The plate is from a drawing of the plant, raised either in the royal garden at Paris, or in one of his majesty's gardens in the vicinity or London. This uncertainty is owing to the want of any marks on the drawing, by which the matter could be determined. M. Jussieu transmitted to Mr Bruce drawings and botanical descriptions of those plants, which were raised from seeds in the king of France's gardens; but Mr Bruce, displeased at the manner in which the superintendants had made use of his present (Vide the article *Farek*, Travels, Vol. VII. p. 169), on that account paid little attention to characters. Though M. Jussieu's description cannot be found, the particular use which is made of the plant throughout Abyssinia, is a sufficient apology for giving it here. All the parts of the fructification are so clearly and accurately displayed in the Plate, that any botanist may, at pleasure, determine its Linnean character.

* Plate, No. XV.

The nuge is a species of sesamum. The practice of making oil from its yellow flower and seeds is very ancient. It grows to the height of four feet, or, in general, three and a half. The root is about three lines and a half in circumference, and two inches long, ending in a point. It is all covered with small roots, that have one-third or one-fourth of the thickness of the stem, at the place whence they spring out; are about two inches and a half long, and as small as hairs at their extremities. The principal stem at the root is three lines and half in circumference; but it gradually diminishes to the top. Next to the root, the first joint, or knot, is an inch long; after which, the length of the joint, between knot and knot, gradually increases towards the top, the length of the uppermost being six or seven inches. On the whole stem there may be ten or a dozen of these joints. Close below each of these are two leaves rising from the principal stock, and opposite to one another, but in an alternate manner, those of one knot being opposed to those of another. Above these leaves rise from the stock small branches, which make an angle of about 30° with it. Each of these has two or three small joints, with two leaves below them; the ends of which, besides their leaves, support each two or three flowers of the kind delineated in the Plate. These flowers have nine, and sometimes ten, three-pointed leaves, of a perfect yellow colour, somewhat lighter than that of gold. The leaves are of the figure represented in the Plate; but some of them are less convex on the sides than others, and more approaching to the parallel. Some of them are extremely oval; they are all denticulated in a rough and irregular manner. The middle fibre is whitish, and sunk in the leaf, on the right side, towards the footstalk. On the reverse the fibres are much raised. At its exit from the stock, each of the branches seems nearly as thick as the stock itself in that place. In some plants, I have seen the two leaves at the joints having their protuberant sides so united, as to have the appearance of being only one circular leaf with the stem in the centre; but this was probably accidental.

The description of the flower is wanting; but the number of pistilla and stamina may be reckoned from the parts analysed in the Plate.

UMFAR, OR AMFAR *.

This Plate represents the end of a branch of a tree called Umfar, found at Addua and Gondar, and in great plenty at Saccala. In the month of November it was not in flower at Saccala; but at Gondar it flowered in October, and was in full bloom in November. In Tigre it flowers in December. The trunk of this tree is of a dusky colour, approaching to pale, or ashy, very rough and uneven, and covered with a very scaly bark of various plies, one above another. The small branches are covered with similar bark; but the colour is whitish, stained with a dull red, between red and yellow. The extremity of each branch becomes more smooth, and of a quadrilateral form, and of an ashy colour, slightly tinged with green. It is covered with a very fine down, which comes off on passing it through the fingers. The leaves are disposed by two and two, one opposite the other, about two inches between each couple. One couple is not disposed on the same side of the stem with another, but cross-wise, and so on alternately, till the end of each branch, at which comes out an immense quantity of flowers on stalks. The leaves are of the form given in the Plate, of a deep green, inclining to yellow, on the right side, but nearly white on the reverse. The principal fibres on the reverse incline a little to yellow; but, on the right, they have no particular colour; and though they are marked with a very deep line, their stalk is not more than three lines in length, and they are fixed on the branch almost at right angles, or not at less than 80 or 75°. When the principal branches come within ten or twelve inches of their extremity, they begin to send out flowers, and continue to do so till they terminate. When the branches are of the inferior kind, this begins only five or six inches from their point. At every interval above the leaves, on the stem, the principal branch casts out little branches, the lowest of which are about eight or nine inches long; but they decrease in length as they ascend the branch. These bear the flowers, and rise each from the trunk at the foot of a leaf, but

* Plate, No. XVI.

about two lines higher than its insertion. They make, with the principal branch, an angle of about 50° ; these, which are next the top, however, make only 45 or 40°. The first of these little branches are furnished with leaves of a smaller size, and with sprigs of flowers disposed on them, in the same manner as they are on the large branch, only the knots are nearer each other. These branches have each ten or twelve sprigs, not including that on their top; but the branches approaching the extremity of the main one, being shorter, they have only six or four sprigs on them, and very small leaves. The flowers are disposed on the sprigs in large groups of twelve or fourteen in each, at about a line or two of separation, one above another, encircling the sprig. When undisclosed, they hang in little buds of a line in length, which open into four pointed leaflets. From these rises a straw-coloured tube, about a quarter of a line in diameter, and two lines and a half long, comprehending what of it is hid in the perianthium, or bud, above mentioned. The extremity of the tube divides into four small round leaves, of a very ripe orange colour. To the extremities of the sides of this tube are fixed four stamina, scarcely perceptible, of a straw-colour. At the bottom of the tube, within, are the ovarium and pistillum. The ovarium is of an ashy colour, inclining to green, and so is the pistillum, but its extremity is yellow. The ovarium and pistillum, together, do not amount to the length of two lines. While the flowers are not disclosed, they have a bright ash colour, inclining nearly to green.

KUMMEL*.

The fibres, which bear the flowers of the kummel, are greenish at the base, and assume upwards a russet colour, inclining to that of cinnamon. Before the flower appears, it is contained in a bud, at first very small, but resembling that of the rose. Growing, it lengthens to the extent of four lines, and is in diameter about one and a half. This bud divides into four parts, which form the leaves of the perianthium, each

* Plate, No: XVII.

terminating in a point. Above this perianthium come out four leaves, a little straiter than the former, and white on each side; whereas, those of the perianthium are white only within. Between the four leaves of the perianthium and the four of the flower, are placed eight white leaflets, disposed in the eight angles which result from those before mentioned. These last are at the base all joined together as a calix; they are as long as the rest, but all collected together like a bud, yet their ends are bent a little outwards. Around this calix are placed eight other leaflets, half the length of these, in their interstices. Around these leaflets, in the inner part, are disposed eight stamina, very small, with an oblong and fluted head, of a yellowish colour. The length of the head of the stamina is about a line, and they do not rise above the interior order of these leaflets above mentioned. From the perianthium rises the ovarium, and from it the pistillum, which inclines to white, except the point, which is a little more yellow than the rest. The leaves of the perianthium have a part raised up the whole length of the leaflets like a rib. The stalks, on which the leaves are, as well as those which support the fruit and flower, are green. The leaves are strong, very like those of the orange tree; they have a yellowish fibre raised up on both sides, but particularly on the reverse of the leaf. This side is a little fairer, but both sides are completely varnished.

On another part of the paper is found the following note, entitled, " Remainder of the description of the flower of the Kummel."

To the exterior part of this calix, which has eight leaves, are attached 16 stamina; which, by two and two, correspond to the eight exterior leaves, and remain very open. On these last leaves each of those stamina splits gradually into three others. The longest of these stamina corresponds to the middle of the leaf on which it is spread. The ovary is about a line long, and the pistillum about four.

The fruit is of a tawny, or dead yellow; of an oblong pyramidical shape at the point, and rounded at the base where it is attached to the stalk. This tree, which is called, in Tigre, Kummel, and in Amhara, Shie, or Essue, attains a considerable size. The fruit is ripe in December, but particularly in January. It is of the tribe called Mimusops.

HOUBAARAH *.

The beautiful bird, here represented, is very little known. The figure I have here given, if it is not the only one, is surely the only intelligible one, or from which any guess can be made at the bird from which it was designed; not even excepting the figure by Dr Shaw, who, as far as I know, gives the first particular description of it.

It is all over Arabia and Barbary called Houbaara. It is frequent in the deserts by the Persian Gulf, and in the sands of Palmyra, bordering upon Damascus. It is found on both sides the Euphrates, and no where changes its name. I will not, nowever, decide, whether it is the bird mentioned by that name in the Arabic version of the Scripture, although I am very much inclined to think it is so. By its having been often named, together with birds inhabiting places that, from the particular catastrophes of the times, have become scenes of desolation, and as such described by the prophets, many have been led to think, that there are circumstances in its nature that have a more than ordinary affinity and connection with the scenes of desolation there described. For example, the owl, the bittern, the night-crow, and several others that are found in the melancholy list of birds inhabiting places devoted to destruction, naturally impress the mind with an imagination, that they are somehow or other intimately connected with that destruction they must have been spectators of. This is, however, sometimes mere imagination, as is the case in the example of the bird before us. It is a clean granivorous bird; and, though it lives in the desert, this is supposed to arise from a propensity it has, in common with many other birds, to keeping itself dry, and free from wet and dirty soil. It seems to partake of the nature of the bustard; and so Golius and Bochart have thought; though others, for no good reason that I can find, have thought the contrary. In size, it is as large as a full grown pullet, somewhat longer in proportion. Its head is crowned with a large tuft of feathers; half of the fore-part of which is black, the rest a greyish

* Plate, No. XVIII.

white. Its head is a reddish brown; its throat white; and the feathers of the back of the head are small and fine. It has a ruff of very singular form and structure. It is black from the middle of the neck, and stands back, in the shape of a wing on the one side; then, on the front, and before its stomach, it has the appearance of an apron, which goes all round, where its stomach is situated, and joins the left side of the neck, making the same form, or figure, as it did on the left; so that the neck seems to stand between two wings of feathers, joined together in the fore-part by the apron that covers the stomach before. These feathers, disposed on each side, as also those upon its head, are of the consistence of those of the dunghill cock, when he is angry, or intending to fight, and the same holds in the Houbaara: for it is only on those occasions that he erects his plumage, which is a token that he is angry. His belly is white, all but under the anus, which is spotted with black, in large transversal spots. Its thighs are covered with white feathers till the joint, which is bare; the leg below the joint is two inches long. It has three toes not jointed; each of these terminate with a strong sharp claw. It runs with great velocity upon level and smooth ground, which it affects. It is of all others the bird that gives the best sport with the hawk: having a great variety of stratagems to elude its enemy, besides the swiftness of its flight. Its body, back, and tail, is brown, beautifully spotted with black; the point of its tail is fringed with white, about a quarter of an inch. Its beak is black pointed; and in shape is pointed as granivorous birds, and about two inches long. The flesh is black; in taste, much like that of wild fowl of the game kind, and resembles much the bustard, such as we find in our Downs in England. This bird was shot at Syene, on the skirts of the desert, immediately under the Tropic. The town's people, at first sight, knew it by the name of Houbaaraa; and such I take it may be called in all time coming.

MADOQUA ANTELOPE*.

In our journey to the sources of the Nile, we found a little wild animal, called, in Abyssinia, Madoqua. From its properties, it would seem to be the same with that described by M. de Buffon under the name of Grimme, excepting in the horns, which, neither in figure nor situation, are like those designed on the head, brought by M. Adanson from Senegal, which M. de Buffon took for the animal in question. In our animal, the horns are round and straight, and make a large angle with the line of its face; on the contrary, in the drawing of the head brought from Senegal, the horns are so bent towards the neck, as to make a quite opposite angle. The ears in this animal are within more full than those of the Fecho. The length of the whole body, from the point of the nose to the anus, was 32 inches; of the head, from the point of the nose to the origin of the horns, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the round of the mouth was 4 inches and 1 part; its aperture, in profile, $1\frac{5}{6}$ inches; length of the eye, from one angle to the other, 1 inch; distance between the two eye-lids, when open, 5 lines; distance between the anterior angle and the point of the lip, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches; distance between the anterior angles of the eyes, measured in a straight line, 1 inch $6\frac{1}{2}$ lines; circumference of the head, taken before the horns, 12 inches; length of the ear, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches; distance between the ears and the horns, 1 inch; length of the trunk of the tail, 4 inches; its circumference at its origin, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the inferior diameter of the horns, $4\frac{5}{8}$ lines; length, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The outer part of the horn is composed of longitudinal fibres, from the top to the base, without being interrupted. It has about half a line of solid part round about. These are supported by a heart of bone, springing from the skull, which is about two-thirds the length of each horn. Length of the neck, taken before, 5 inches; circumference, taken near the head, 10 inches; circumference of the neck, near the shoulders, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches; height of the neck, 5 inches; circumference of the body, taken behind the fore legs, $19\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Total height of the body before, 19

* Plate, No. XIX.

inches; total height behind, 21 inches; length of the shoulder, from the blade to the knee, 5 inches; circumference of the knee, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; length of the shank, 4 inches; circumference at the smallest place, 1 inch $7\frac{1}{2}$ lines; height, from the foot below to the knee, $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches; distance of the top of the shoulders from the base of the foot, $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches; circumference of the body, taken before the hind legs, $20\frac{1}{4}$ inches; length of the body, taken from the point of the breast to the anus, 20 inches; circumference of the snoot behind the nose, 5 inches; distance between the horns, taken from centre to centre, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Between the angle of the eye and the nose it has a spiracle 7 lines long, which oozes out an odoriferous humour. This is situated parallel to the aperture of the mouth, 2 inches from the point of the nose; the distance between the angle of the mouth and this spiracle, is 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$ line; and there are 5 lines between it and the anterior angle of the eye.

The Madoqua has six vertebræ in the neck; 14 dorsal, and 6 lumbar vertebræ; 5 joints in the os sacrum, and nine in the tail. The true ribs are eight; the false, six.

A drawing of the head and skull is found in Mr Bruce's collection; but it was thought superfluous to engrave it. In each jaw, both upper and nether, the Madoqua has ten jaw teeth, five on each side; and eight incisors in the lower jaw. In the upper jaw there is a place for a tooth on each side vacant.

The hair over the body is of a chesnut bright colour.—There is a tuft of black hair, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, between the horns; a stripe of black down the face to the nose; the outside of the tail is black; and a stripe reaches down each fore leg from the knee to the hoof. The hind legs are also black from the pastern to the hoof. The black occupies all the four legs round about from the pastern downwards. The hair of the throat and belly is of a dirty white.

The other species of the Antelope, common about the sources of the Abay, are the Feho, or Fecho, and the Bohur. Of the last of these Mr Bruce gives the following account.

The Bohur is the largest of all the Gazelle kind. His horns are solid, and he casts them not; they are crooked outwards. He is thick covered with hair, something above an inch long; the two-thirds of each hair of

a dark chesnut colour; the point, or one-third, red; this runs all along the back, and for about two inches on each side the spine; upon his buttocks the hair is red without any mixture of black, as also upon his loins; upon his shoulder and neck it is lighter, drawing to a dirty white; on his throat of the same colour; under his jaws only is white; his hind-legs are red, both on the inside and out; on the inside somewhat lighter than the out; but the edge of his thighs and his hinder legs have a white stream, which comes from his belly, and reaches to his knees; his fore legs are also of the same clear red, but rather paler; and he has a chesnut-coloured band, which reaches from the middle of the shoulder down to the pastern, or hoof; the hair of his legs is bright, and has a lustre like gold. His hoofs are large and well-proportioned, which is rare in the Gazelle kind; they are of a dark-brown, with light clouds like tortoise-shell; the chesnut-coloured streak grows lighter as it comes nearer the hoof; his tail is small, red above, and white at the bottom; his ears are thick covered with the white hair within, in three bands, as usual; and whereas it is usual in animals of this kind to have the ears without but ill-covered, this has his thick covered with short close hair from the root to the top, and interspersed with black long hairs near half an inch long; his front below his ears, and below his horns, are of the same mixed brown colour as his back, only the hair is thicker and stronger; his eye-brows are long and black; his horns consist of several coats, which, from time to time, scale off; the first of these is about, or scarce, a line in thickness; they are streaked longitudinally, and less hard than the inner coat. He lives in the high grass, and does not enter the wood unless forced; he sleeps during the heat of the day in the long bent grass, generally near the banks of the Nile. His body is round, strong, and very fleshy; of an excellent taste, red, and not fat; part of the Abyssinians eat it, and part do not. He does not appear to move with so much agility as a Gazelle; but yet, by reason of his length, makes great way; he stops at certain distances, and stares upon his hunters. The people say the female has no horns. This was a male; the truth I cannot assert, only I saw several that seemed well-grown without horns; his neck is of the same colour as his thighs and lower parts of

the shoulders. The mixed colour begins only where his neck ends, or his back begins. I never saw any large troops of these animals together; frequently one alone, or two, at most three. They are peculiar to Maitsha, and the country of the Agows. The horn consists of an outer bark, very fragile, and of a texture resembling wood rather than horn. Within it is black, and exceeding hard and solid; hollow all up till within half an inch of the point. Though this horn appears to seem round, yet it does really make an angle in the side, immediately next the eye, towards which the point is turned outward, and its form at the base is triangular; the apex of one angle projecting towards the eye, perpendicular to a line let fall from the part of the horn turned outward.

The Fecho and Madoqua have both horns with this fragile bark, which is of so loose a texture, that it crumbles to small pieces in cutting with the knife. They are of the kind of the antelope, and not of the stag; that is, have a fust within, and are not solid. This bark, or outer coat, is about a line in thickness; but it is scarce perceptible, or but as a thin scale.

ANTIDOTES USED BY THE NUBA AGAINST SERPENTS.

The Abyssinians call all the black nations which surround them on the north, west, and south-west, *Shankala;* a generic name, which they apply even to the people in the provinces belonging to Sennaar. The Nuba, Funge, Shilook, Dinga, people called Fertit, the Doba, and Dobena, and, in short, all perfect blacks, go by this appellation. These nations form a race of men distinct from the Arabs and Galla, and seem to be the aborigines of Africa. They inhabit the extensive country between the Abay and the Bahar el Abiad down to Sennaar. They dwell along both sides of the White River up to its source. The kings of Sennaar have transplanted a number of them into the low country, on the banks of the Dender, to defend their territories there. Many of these Nuba are taken from the mountains around the White River. They retain their priests, and Pagan religion. They worship the moon; from which

practice the name of Jibbel Kumr, probably, was given by themselves to the hills where the Bahar el Abiad rises. They wear thick bracelets of copper around their wrists and ancles, which they get from the copper mines of Fertit, and others of that metal, in their native mountains. Small nations of these black Pagans are found in all the hilly districts south of Darfûr. The Arabs make war on them, in order to take slaves, and send many of them to Cairo, and other remote markets.

The Nuba are more kind-hearted, less cruel, and more simple and sincere than the Arabs. They believe in witchcraft; and the following superstitions were told to Mr Bruce on the banks of the Dender, and are described here in his own words:

"There is a prevailing opinion in Sennaar, and all the country about, that there are wizards, who, by their looks and charms, have power to throw, as they please, a man, or a woman, gradually into decay, which, at last, terminates in death. There is a root of a tree, which comes from the province of Fazuclo, which is sold in the market publicly as an antidote against that. A few chips, put into the mouth, effectually preserves a person. It is said the Nuba are the wizards; and it is from their country the remedy comes, where this is also believed to be fact. I have seen several in this disease. It seems to be a hectic fever, probably the end of some illness; the eyes, face, and body, are as of a person in the last stage of a consumption; and this happens more seldom in men than in women. I never saw children have it. It is frequent in the deserts of Barca about Augila. I saw two women put to death in that country for this; they call it drinking their life; it is called Bouda in Abyssinia, where it is also common, especially among the Galla of Gojam. In all these places they believe that the hyænas, which are frequent in the streets of all their towns at night, are these enchanters in that shape; and they will not touch the skin of a hyæna till it has been prayed over, and exorcised by a priest. The Falasha in Abyssinia answer the purposes of Pagan Nuba in the cure.

"There is among the cow-keepers, or neat-herds of the Refaa Arabs, and Nuba, a very singular species of idolatry; they chuse, each from among themselves, one whom they constitute their god; and that god

adores another cow-herd as his god, and so on. This is common in Fazuclo, and in all the countries from Lowna.

" The Nuba in Sennaar cure the venereal disease with a root of a tree pounded in water. The patient is shut up, and eats only maize and water, called belleel, for forty-one days; after which he comes out perfectly cured, whether by abstinence, or medicine, is uncertain. The root is purgative. They also use earth of a certain kind, brought from without the limits of the tropical rains, near Gooz. It is saline, has no strong taste, and seems a kind of magnesia alba. This they also use for their ulcers; but it is at times unsuccessful, drying them up, and often occasioning an universal pox.

" In Abyssinia the handling of serpents without harm is known. The Nuba have charms both against vipers and scorpions. It is even a shrub the Abyssinians make use of, not resembling the plant used by the Nuba, and certainly different. I have seen the serpents bite the people who held them; but the bite was neither attended with pain nor inflammation; no remedy was applied but sucking the wound, which bled plentifully in four places. This art is known in Barbary and Egypt; but the danger prevents us from trying the herbs."

The following plants were pointed out to Mr Bruce at Sennaar (July 25, 1772), by a Nubian, who was from the country on the Bahar el Abiad. The minute description he gives may enable future observers to identify them. An antidote, or remedy, against the bite of the scorpion, would be a valuable acquisition to mankind in general, which only the Nuba seem to possess.

Antidotes against Vipers and Scorpions, used by the Funge and Nubians in Sennaar.

" The first is called Labreshat, in the language of Sennaar; Lagemi, in that of the southern negroes, or Shankala; it is a root about a foot in length, and somewhat above an inch around; but more commonly found not above the size of a common whip cord; it is tough and pliable, covered with a thick bark, which easily cracks, but does not easily detach

itself from the root; it has something the form of white liquorice, but is of a darker colour. This root is generally straight, and shoots perpendicular into the earth, but has no fibres or branches. From the side of this root, generally about half an inch from the top, sprouts out a branch, thin, and covered with a smooth deep green bark. This rarely grows above an inch long, and decays at top; and half an inch below, on its side, sets forth another small twig, seldom more than one. On this grow the leaves, disposed, one by one, alternately on opposite sides of the stalk; they are ordinarily about two inches long, and three lines and a half at the top, growing smaller to the point; the ribs are scarcely marked, or distinguishable, joined by a small stalk to the branch. This leaf is at first of the colour of laurel, but turns black and saddish on keeping. The Nubians distinguish male and female by the flower; that of the former being red, and the other white. I never saw either flower. The branch which bears the leaves never grows half a foot high out of the earth. It had leaves on the 25th July, 1772, after there had been considerable rain at Sennaar. It grows near the Nile in the red soapy clay, which is the soil there, and where all their dora is sown. This is against all species of the viper kind. The root having been dried at the sun, then pounded, if a piece, very small, be chewed, and the hand be rubbed with this spittle, the viper will suffer himself to be handled without offering to venture a bite; and upon being continued long in the hand, where is this bruised root, or the tincture of it rubbed in the hand, will sicken and die without any offence. It is but little bitter to the taste, and of no strong or disagreeable smell; it something resembles liquorice.

Second Plant.—From a root, much resembling horse-radish, nearly in form of an egg at top, and open at the bottom, divided into a fork, or two legs, grows a succulent stalk, or often two or three, of the size of a large earth-worm. This stalk is white and feeble as far as it is covered with earth; after which it is a light green, and seldom above eight inches high. From the green parts of this stalk grow the leaves alternately on the opposite side of the stalk; the two opposites are generally less than half an inch distant; there is then a large interval near an inch and a half; and then the two others, which I say are placed alternately

on opposite sides. There is no knot, or ring, around where the leaves shoot: these are always three in number; the first large, and in five divisions; it is altogether above an inch and a half broad, of a bright green, something like that of celery. When the large leaf has arrived at its full size, it falls off, and then it is succeeded by the second, which is advanced; the third takes place of the second, and it then shoots a small one for a third. These leaves are fastened to the principal stalk by a thready succulent root, long, near a third of the length of the leaf. The ribs part all from this root, and are considerably raised on the back of the leaf, and hollowed, or sunk, in the front. There are five principal ones. The stalk and leaves of this are perfectly tasteless, and without smell. The Nubians say it bears both fruit and flowers in abundance. I never saw either. It had just shot out this succulent root, when I saw it, the 25th July, near Sennaar, on the banks of the Nile, where it is in great plenty in the very same ground with the former root. The root is of a dirty yellowish white, full of small knots, which seem to have been roots of fibres; and the root is also surrounded with small fibrous circles horizontally, like hoops around it. The leaves and stalk are covered with a sort of prickly down, scarce perceptible to the touch, which has probably given it its name, Abou sont, the father of the acacia*.

The root of the third plant is crooked, hard, and woody; its body is about three inches long, when longest; at the bottom shoot out long thready fibres, tough, and of the same consistence with the root. The fibres run strongly into the earth, but considerable part of the body of the root is out of the earth uncovered. It resembles the root of wild thyme, at first sight. From the sides of this, near the top, shoot forth a great number of green branches, fluted, and seldom above four inches long; upon these the leaves are disposed, two and two, on opposite sides of the stalk. These are generally three in number; one large and two lesser, joined to the principal stalk by a foot of about an inch long. The leaf is generally about three-fourths of an inch in length; and, at the shoulders, above half an inch in breadth, lightly serrated, like the nettle, of a deep green on the right side, but pale on the reverse; the ribs are faintly marked;

* An Arabic phrase, signifying, *like the acacia*. E.

the branches, or stalks, terminated with a head of white flowers of the form of pea blossoms, out of which project a pistil surrounded with several small filaments, or stamina, whose heads are covered with orange-coloured farina. This flower is contained in a cup of one leaf, divided into several segments; each of these flowers do not exceed a line in length; they grow two by two, on the head, on opposite sides of the stalk; and two or three, like the leaves, sprout out together on each side, joined by a small foot to the stalk near the length of the flower. This whole head, occupied by the flower, is about three-fourths of an inch in length. The whole of the plant above ground seldom exceeds five inches and a half.—It grows in the same ground with the rest near the Nile, and was in flower and leaf on the 25th July, 1772, when I was at Sennaar. It is used, bruising the root in the hand, against scorpions, who are rendered harmless by it.

The fourth plant is also for the same use, against scorpions, and produces the same effect. It is a round root of the size of the largest musket-ball, full of small fibres, which spring out on all sides; from the centre of this springs out the plant, the stalk of which is an inch and a half in length, feeble, and flexible, thickest at the root, diminishing, however, but little. From this principal stalk sprout branches on all sides about four inches long, alternately disposed on the stalk. This stalk is lightly channelled; the leaves are above half an inch broad, fixed to the branch by a foot like the vine leaf; they grow alternately on the branch. They resemble the vine leaf in form; they are of a bright vivid green on the face; pale on the reverse, when growing, but turn black soon after gathering. They have on them a small white soft hair, like down. The ribs are five principal ones raised on the back, as in the vine; and distinct and well-marked on the right side also, but not hollowed. The flower is of the size of a pea, but oval, and covered with white down. I never saw it blown, but only shot, though it seemed to be arrived at its full size, and ready to blow, and the cup divided into four oval pointed segments. From where the leaves sprout out come likewise tendrils, like a vine, which show it to be a parasite. This is very rare; I never found but one the Nubian brought me, though it grows in the same ground as the rest, at Ayra, near the Nile, three miles south of Sennaar. It has

little taste, as most herbs have, which, like this, were gathered in the season of rain; though, as to its virtue, the Nubians knew no difference of seasons. All these plants are equally efficacious; the three against scorpions; the fourth, which is a shrub, against vipers. The south, which is the country of these slaves in the regions of Shankala, from Fazuclo to the frontiers of Agow, abound in them all, and many others. There is great plenty at Sennaar; though it is in their own country these slaves learn the virtue of these plants and roots, to which the Arabs and people of Sennaar are strangers. When a person is newly bit, they chew a piece, and apply it to the place, and he is immediately cured. If a person chew this root often in a morning, the serpent, or scorpion, will not bite him. They dry all these roots, and then pound them to powder, and mix them well together, and put them in a leathern purse * ready for use; and when they are to handle a scorpion, or viper, they take a few grains of this powder, and moisten it with water, or spittle, and rub it in their hand, and then lay hold of either without fear. Providence has placed this remedy in abundance, where there is much need of it. The bark and holes of all the trees in this country are full of scorpions in thousands, and the plains full of very poisonous vipers, especially in harvest. These come out of their holes in the time of the rains, and lie in heaps, wherever they find straw, dry herbage, or old houses. There is one circumstance, which I had forgot, which scarce deserves remembrance, that these roots are to be pounded to powder by the hands of a virgin."

* A leather bag, with these plants in it, was brought home by Mr Bruce, and is preserved. E.

No. XLIX.

Observations of Latitude and Longitude, made by Mr Bruce in Africa, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, *and* 1772.

[From the Journals.]

	STARS.	ALTITUDES.	
Dec. 27. 1768, In Farshiut, in resid. of the Friars	Rigel	55°28′30″	Fine weather and calm
	Eastern should. of Orion	71 17 0	
Jan. 7. 1769; Tent on the bank of the Nile, on the Calish that goes to the city, 300 paces to N. E. of Dendera	East should. of Orion	71 10 30	Good obs.
	Sirius - -	47 25 59	
Jan. 10. In the tent, to south, immediately out of Negade	Rigel -	55 38	Good obs.
	East should. of Orion	71 27 30	
Jan. 15. In the tent at south side, immediately out of Luxor	East should. of Orion	71 33 0	Both many clouds
	Procyon	70 6 40	
Jan. 16. In ditto	East should. of Orion	71 39 30	
		47 54 20	
	Sirius - -	71 17 40	
Jan. 22. In Badjoura	East should. of Orion	55 28 20	Good obs.
Jan. 23. In Badjoura	Rigel - -		
	East should. of Orion	71 17 40	
Feb. 6. In Girge	Rigel - -	55 11 30	Much wind, that made the tube skake
	East should. of Orion	71 0 35	
March 26. Cossir	Northern, in the Virgin's belt, marked δ - -	68 32 20	Good all
	Southern, in the Virgin's belt, marked γ	63 42 15	
	Spica Virginis -	53 56 10	
April 5. In Cossir	Regulus - -	76 58 30	Obs. susp.
April 22. Imbo	Regulus - -	79 2 15	Good
May 7. Jidda	Spica Virginis -	58 35 30	Good
July 3. Jidda	Lucida Librae -	53 28 45	
	Star in Libra β -	60 1 30	
	Star β of the Scorpion	49 23 45	
	Antaris - -	42 39 45	
	ζ of Serpentarius	58 28 0	

		STARS.	ALTITUDES.	
July 21.	Loheia	(α) Head of the Scorpion	52 22 40	
		Antaris - -	48 26 0	Obs. good
		Thigh of Serpentarius, ζ	64 14 40	
August 5.	Loheia	Antaris - -	48 25 50	
		ζ of Serpentarius	64 14 40	
Aug. 18.	At Loheia	Lucida Lyrae	67	
21.	Ditto	Meridian Altit. of Sun	85 34 50	Wea. a little cloudy
25.	Ditto	Ditto - -	85 14 40	Sun was under clouds
26.	Ditto	Ditto - -	84 53 20	Good obs.
27.	Ditto	Ditto - -	84 32 15	Obs. clear
Sept. 15.	At Dahalac	Ditto -	77 26 45	Clear
22.	At Masuah	Sun's Merid. Alt.	74 50 55	Clear
23.	At same place	Sun's Mer. Alt. -	74 27 40	
23.	Ditto	Rigel -	65 55 50	
	Ditto	Bellatrix -	80 32 0	Light clouds
	Ditto	Middle in Orion's belt, E	73 3 20	
	Ditto	Southern in Orion's belt	72 20 15	
	Ditto	Eastern should. of Orion	81 45 40	
24.	Ditto	Lucida Aquilæ -	82 41 30	Light clouds
25.	Ditto	Mer. Alt of Sun	73 40 45	Light clouds but sun
26.	Ditto	Same - -	73 17 15	Clear
Oct. 21.	Ditto	Sirius - -	58 0 25	Clear
	Ditto	Sun's Mer. Alt.	63 28	Clear
Nov. 23.	At Dixan	Middle in Orion's belt	73 40 10	
		Star to E. in Orion's belt	72 57 30	
		Betelgueze -	82 23	Clear
		Sirius - -	58 37 45	
		Procyon - -	80 49 55	
23.	Ditto	Mer. Alt. Sun -	54 50 20	
Dec. 2.	Kellah	Rigel - -	67 6 50	
		Betelgueze -	82 56 20	Clear
		Procyon - -	81 23 40	
11.	Addua	Mer. Alt. Sun	53 4 35	Clear
12.		Ditto -	52 59 50	
13.		Ditto -	52 55 50	All Clear
15.		Ditto -	52 49 50	
16.		Ditto -	52 46 35	
Jan. 18.	1770. Axum	Rigel - -	67 25 0	
	Ditto	First in Orion's belt	75 24 50	
	Ditto	Last in Orion's belt	73 49 10	Clear
	Ditto	Betelgueze -	83 14 30	
	Ditto	Sirius -	59 29 0	
	Ditto	Procyron -	81 41 20	
Jan. 19.	Axum	Sun's Mer. Alt.	55 53 25	
22.	At S. W. of Sire, at distance of $\frac{1}{3}$ mile from the town	Rigel - -	67 26 50	
		First in Orion's belt	75 26 30	Clear
	Ditto	Last in Orion's belt	73 50 40	
	Ditto	Betelgueze -	83 16 20	

	STARS.	ALTITUDES.	
Jan. 22. At S. W. of Sire, &c.	Sirius - -	59 31 15	Clear
Ditto	Procyon -	81 33 20	
23. In same place	Mer. Alt. Sun	56 49 20	Light clouds, but sun-shine
26. At the ford of the Tacazze	Middle in Orion's belt	74 55 30	A little cloudy
	Last in Orion's belt	74 12 25	
	Betelgueze -	83 38 20	
31. In Addergey, beside the river Mai lumi	Merid. Alt. Sun	59 33 15	Cloudy, Wind
	Foremost in Orion's belt	76 6 20	
	Middle in Orion's belt	75 13 20	
	Last in Orion's belt	74 30 10	
Feb. 1. In Ditto	Merid. Alt. Sun	59 50 5	
	Arcturus -	83 5	
	γ in Corvo -	60 19 45	
	δ in Corvo -	61 20 55	
11. At Mackara, and the church of Yasous, on Lamalmon	Spica Virg. -	66 57 0	Cloudy
	Merid. Alt. Sun	63 14 50	Clear
Mar. 3. Gondar, capital of Abyssinia	Spica Virg.	67 28 30	Very clear
	δ of the Scorp. -	55 29 0	Clear
	β of the Scorp. -	58 16 25	
	σ of the Scorp. -	52 24 30	
	Antares -	51 31 50	
	Merid. Alt. Sun	70 58 50	Flying cl. but sun seen
Mar. 4. Gondar	Ditto - -	71 21 40	
	Last in Orion's belt	75 20 30	Flying cl. but sun clear
	Betelgueze -	84 46 0	Clear
	β in foot of Canis maj.	59 34 15	Clear.
	Sirius - -	61 0 30	
	Procyon -	83 13 10	
March 5. At Gondar	δ of the Scorpion	55 29 10	Clear.
	β of ditto -	58 16 30	
	σ of ditto -	52 24 30	
	Antaris -	51 31 55	
	Mer. Alt. Sun -	71 45 0	Flying clouds, but sun seen.
6. Gondar	Middle in Orion's belt	76 3 40	
7. Ditto	Betelgueze -	84 46	Flying light clouds
8. Ditto	Ditto -	84 45 55	Clouds
9. Ditto	Mer. Alt. Sun -	72 54 50	Clear
	Ditto	73 18 25	Clouds, but sun clear
	Middle in Orion's belt,	76 3 30	Clear
	Last in Orion's belt,	75 20 25	
	Betelgueze -	84 46	
	Sirius -	61 0 30	
10. Ditto	Mer. Alt. Sun -	73 41 44	
11. Ditto	Ditto -	74 5 20	
12. Ditto	Ditto - -	74 28 55	
Ditto	Sirius - -	61 0 35	

	STARS.	ALTITUDES.	
March 13. Gondar	Mer. Alt. Sun	74 52 30	
14. Ditto	Ditto	75 16 0	
16. Ditto	Ditto	76 30 20	Very clear
	Sirius	61 0 25	
	Procyon	83 13 15	
	Clear in foot of Pollux	81 8 20	
April 10. At Emfras, in Foggora	Merid. Alt. Sun	86 5 0	Clear
	Clear in foot of Pollux	80 44 45	
April 11. Ditto	Merid. Alt. Sun	86 27 10	
	Clear in foot of Pollux	80 45	
12. Ditto	Merid. Alt. Sun	86 49 10	
13. Ditto	Ditto	87 10 40	
14. Ditto	Ditto	87 32 20	
15. Ditto	Ditto	87 53 50	
Nov. 15, 1770. At Saccala		63 14 30	Cloudy
April 6. Ditto		62 56 0	Cloudy, but observations good
Jan. 6, 1772. Tcherkin	Merid. Alt. of Sun's upperl.	54 28 25	Clear
7. Ditto	Ditto	54 45 30	
26. Horcacamoot	Ditto	58 29 15	Good

Observations at Teawa, not found; it is stated in the original Journal, N. L. 14° 2′ 24″ from a calculation of which the basis is lost.

The remaining observations of Latitude, in the Journals, are given at the end of the observations of Longitude, which follow.

Observations on the Satellites of Jupiter.

These observations were made with the following instruments:— 1st, A reflecting telescope, by Adams, made, as was said, for Wortley Montague, Esq. of two feet length in the tube, with two eye-glasses of different powers. This instrument, though not bad, had nothing excellent in it. The second was a reflecting telescope, made by Short, of the same length, with two eye-glasses likewise; but, as the medium was for the most part perfectly clear at the places of observation, the shortest, or greatest magnifying power, was always used. The third was a refracting telescope, made by Dollond, upon a very complicated stand, composed of cross rulers of mahogany, four feet in length of the tube, perfectly steady under cover, but not so in the outward air, if any degree of wind blew; otherwise a pleasanter instrument in use than any of the

other two. The instrument used in taking all the altitudes, was a three foot astronomical quadrant, made at Paris for the king's observatory at Marseilles, by L'anglois; it is described by Monsieur de la Lande in one of his volumes upon astronomy, and is reputed by him to be the most perfect instrument ever constructed in France. It was sent me by the king, Louis XV. upon my losing all my instruments by shipwreck on the coast of Africa, when it was impossible to get new ones made; all the excellent instruments makers in Europe being employed by the astronomers of different nations then much engaged about the transit of Venus. The next was a pendulum clock, sent me from Paris likewise; my own, made by Ellicott, having perished in the Gulph of Sidra, where I was shipwrecked. It is a time-keeper, of a very simple, useful, elegant, construction, by Lepeaute; the parts, however well conceived, were executed in a very slovenly inaccurate manner; and being, upon the whole, but an indifferent instrument, little confidence was therefore reposed in it, as may be inferred from the observations. Its plan has, however, been imitated here, in Scotland, under my own eye, with the greatest success; and several of the same movements have been executed to universal satisfaction, with this difference, that the Paris time-keeper cost twenty-eight guineas, and that made here, with a gridiron pendulum, cost me but seven.

My friend, Mr Russel, secretary to the Turkey company, sent me a very excellent watch, by Ellicott.

My barometer was chosen from the best made by Nairn and Blount. Our quicksilver was all lost by an accident at Jidda, and it was there filled anew by some of the cleanest and heaviest quicksilver I ever remember to have seen, given by the gentlemen of the ships from the East Indies.

The thermometers were various; that used in the house was a very sensible one, of about eighteen inches in length, by which the others used on the road, when this was packed up, were all regulated.

I beg leave to say, that all the observations were made with the utmost care and attention possible; that no labour was spared in the frequent and constant rectification of the quadrant, both in the horizon and zenith; that though several of them were made in circumstances, where the mind may reasonably be thought not to be in a state of per-

fect repose, yet every thing was done to surmount human fears as much as possible; and it is believed, the errors that may be found in these observations, may be rather attributed to the ignorance of the observer, than to any inaccuracy, fear, or scrupulous reflection upon his own situation, though many times it was a dangerous and disagreeable one.

But as these observations have had the advantage of large instruments, as they are made in places where there is no probability they ever will be repeated, Mr Bruce wishes them to be calculated rigorously, and no equation, however trifling, omitted; so that they may be regarded as fixed points in the geography of Africa and Arabia in any future reform of the maps of those countries.

Mr Bruce has calculated always two altitudes, and sometimes more, for ascertaining the time; he has set two altitudes, for the most part, for fixing the time of the clock at each observation; and he hopes that Mr Maskelyne will, as he was so good as to promise him, bestow the same attention upon these now sent him; upon the result of which he shall place his greatest confidence; and he hopes Mr Maskelyne will favour him with all correspondent observations made at Greenwich, from the meridian of which he would wish his longitudes to be calculated.

At Negade.

30
2 30
2 48

L. 32 32 48

On the 11th of January, 1769, lat. 25° 53′ 30″ N. by esteem 2 hours E. from Greenwich, observed an immersion of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 5 h. 41′ 34″ by the clock.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
64 44 30	4 41 54	27 6 9	56⅔	Clear and Calm, obs.
76 26	4 53 54			good.

January 10, - 17 45 17 Apparent time.
By obs. of March 29, at Greenwich,
should happen at - - - 15 36 6

2 10 11 Long. E. of Greenwich.

Apparent time computed.
Jan. 10. 16 45 35.9
16 57 39.1
For Apparent time, { 3 41.9
3 45.1
Mean, 3 43.5 slow

Long. 32 15 45

At Bajoura.

On the 27th January 1769, in lat. 27. 3. 17. long. by esteem, 2 hours E. from Greenwich, observed an eclipse of the 1st satellite of Jupiter at 3 h. 51. 13. by the clock.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
74 57 20	4 22 34	27 8 7	47	Clear and serene, obs.
76 7 30	4 28 5			good.

Barometer 20 feet above the level.

Jan. 26. 15 53 14 Apparent time

By obs. of March 29, should happen at Greenwich - - 13 44 51

Diff. of Mer. E. of Greenwich, 2 8 23

Jan. 26. 16 24 34.2 Apparent time computed.

16 30 5.9

Clock slow { 2 0.2
2 0.9

Mean, 2 .1

At same place, Jan. 31. 1769, observed an eclipse of the 2d satellite of Jupiter, at 3 h. 2. 19. by the clock, with Adam's Telescope.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
66 34 50	3 25 15	27 7	53	Hazy; thin clear clouds;
69 36 5	3 38 52			observations doubtful:

Dogs inquieted me all the time of the observation.

Jan. 30. 15 6 58 Apparent time.

By observations of March 10. - - 13 0 12

Long. 2 6 46 E.

Jan. 30. 15 29 53.4

15 43 31.2

By mean of 2 Alt. { 4 38.4
4 39.2

Mean, 4 39 slow.

At same place, Feb. 12, 1769, observed an eclipse of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 2 h. 3. 44. by the clock, with Short's telescope.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
67 2 30	2. 42 33	27 .5 7	57	Many thin clouds.
69 55 10	2 55 32			

Feb. 11. 14 5 16 Apparent time.

March 29. 11 58 2 at Greenwich

Long. 2 7 14 E.

2 8 23 by immer. of 26.

} I reject the result 2. 6 46. from the immer. of the 2d satellite on the 30th, as less to be depended on.

Mean, 2 6 48

Feb. 11. 14 44 3.9 Apparent time computed.

14 57 4.4

Clock slow, { 1 30.9
1 32.4

Mean, 1 32

On the 5th April, 1769, lat. 26. 7 51. same esteemed long. as before, observed an eclipse of the 2d satellite of Jupiter at 2 h. 31. 20 by the clock.

At Cosseir.

Lucida Lyræ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
51 34 40	2 38 6	27 9 6	66	Clear, calm after a high wind.
+54 13 10	2 51 36			
55 29 20	2 58 11			

Altitude of Arcturus found in the original Journals,

61 38 40	3 9 13	
59 66 0	3 16 49	
56 24 40	3 32 29	

	Apparent time		
April 4.	14 37 50.0	— 0 14	for clock, f.
	14 57 58.9		
Clock {	0 16.0	14 31 6	Ap. time.
	0 12.1	12 14 49	Ap. time by an obs. of April 11.
Mean,	0 14. fast		
		2 16 7	Long. E. of Greenwich.

On the 22d April, 1769, lat. 24. 3. 35. long. by esteem $2\frac{1}{2}$ h. east from Greenwich, observed an eclipse of the 2d satellite of Jupiter, with the same teleseope, at 9 h. 14. 17. by the clock.

At Imbo, in Arabia.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
53 13 4	9 23 9	27 7	$73\frac{3}{4}$	Brisk wind N. W. and clear.
55 40 40	9 33 48			

The altitudes of Arcturus in the Journal, are as follows :

53 13 40	9 23 9
54 18 10	9 27 49
55 40 40	9 33 48

\+ 0 48 for clock slow.

Apparent time 9 15 5
By observ. of long. May 6. 6 41 59 at Greenwich.

Long. 2 33 6 E. of Greenwich.

On the 23d April 1769, at same place, observed an eclipse of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 9 h. 3. 9. 29. by the clock.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
+59 15 50	9 44 56			There was a brisk wind
60 42 10	9 51 11	27 4 8	82	W. by N. ; the tele-
62 4 40	9 57 12			scope was Dollond's,

and shook with the wind : I cannot think it affected the observation.

In these, time of eclipse by clock,	9 39 29
Clock slow,	1 37
True time of eclipse,	9 41 6
Time of eclipse by ephemerides, corrected by the tables,	7 18 55
Diff. of Paris,	2 22 11

\+ This marks the additional altitude found in the Journals, but not in the copy sent to Dr Maskelyne. E.

Apparent time computed, 9 54 17.9
Clock { 3 6.9
1 41.4
2 24 slow.

+2 24

Apparent time, - - 9 41 53
By observations of April 28. 7 8 47 at Greenwich, which agrees exactly with that from immersion of 2d satellite, April 22.

Long. 2 33 6 E.

On the morning of the 8th of May 1769, lat. 21. 28. 1. by esteem, as before, 2½ h. E. of Greenwich, observed an eclipse of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 34. 42. by the clock.

Jidda.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
53 3 10	1 42 20			It was here I filled my
+52 16 40	1 45 20	26 5 7	84	barometer with the
50 58 15	1 51 19			heavy mercury men-

tioned before. The satellite was too near Jupiter's limb; with a calm, but a violent dew. Changed our quicksilver in the barometer. Observation doubtful.

Apparent time, May 7th, 13 43 25.0
13 52 23.4
Clock slow, { 1 5.0
1 4.4
Mean, 1 5 slow.
+ 1 5 for clock slow.

May 7th, - - 13 35 47
By observations of April 28th, 10 59 8

Long. 2 36 39 E.

At same place, 9th May 1769, supposed long. as before, observed an emersion of the 1st satellite, when it was 10 h. 11. 14. by the clock.

Regulus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
37 38 40	10 22 44			Haze and vapours.—
+36 42 10	10 26 45	26 4 9	83½	Calm.
35 52 35	10 30 17			

Apparent time computed, May 9th, 10 26 2.3
10 33 37.4
Clock slow, { 3 18.3
3 20.4
Mean, 3 19 slow.
10 11 14
+ 3 19 for clock slow.

10 14 33
By observations of March 16th, 7 37 38 at Greenwich.

Long. 2 36 55

At same place, 24th June, 1769, observed an emersion of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 10 h. 33. 5. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
38 36	9 56 38	25 8	91	Hazy in the horizon—
44 1 30	10 20 9			Calm.

Between these two altitudes the Journal has 39 58 30 and 10 2 35
42 2 20 10 11 29

Apparent time, 9 58 1.1
10 21 31.1
Clock slow, { 1 23.1
1 22.2
Mean, 1 23 slow.

10 33 5
+ 1 23

10 34 28
From observations of July 10th, - 7 56 45 at Greenwich.

Long. 2 37 43 E.

At same place, 2d July 1769, observed an emersion of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 0 h. 27. 18. by the clock.

Pegasus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
40 47 45	12 43 33			Cloudy in the hori-
+45 11 20	13 2 26	25 11 6	83	zon.
46 13 0	13 6 49			

Longitude by observations May 7th, 2 36 39
May 9th, 2 36 55
June 24th, 2 37 43
July 2d, 2 37 12

Mean, 2 3 7.7 E.
Apparent time, July 1st, 12 43 52.0
13 7 6.9
Clock slow, { 0 19.0
0 17.9
Mean, 0 18 slow.

0 27 18
+ 0 18

12 27 36
From observations of July 1st, 9 50 24

Long. 2 37 12 E.

On 26th July 1769, in lat. 15. 40. 52, observed an emersion of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was by the clock 7 h. 15. 18.

Loheia.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
38 7 20	7 37 16			Quick flying clouds.
+39 57 15	7 44 51	26 3 7	93	Observations were
41 7 40	7 49 41			taken in the break-

ing up of those clouds, but were tolerably favourable.

Apparent time,	7 44 22.3			7 15 18
	7 56 50.9			+ 7 8
Clock slow,	7 6.3			7 22 26
	7 9.9		By obs. July 1.	4 30 56
Mean,	7 8 slow.		Long.	2 51 30 E.

At same place, 18th August 1769, observed an emersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 7 h. 26. 42. by the clock.

Arcturus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
38 56 20	7 34 12			Calm; clear observa-
+ 38 0 0	7 38 11	26 4 6	88	tion, as favourable
37 15 0	7 41 24			as possible; but I

was feverish and ill, having for near a month past constantly watched the comet that appeared at this time.

Long. July 26.	2 51 30	Apparent time,	7 47 21.1
Aug. 18.	2 51 53		7 54 33.7
Mean	2 52 41	Clock.	13 9.1
			13 9.7
			13 9 slow.

	7 26 42
	13 9
Apparent time,	7 39 51
By obs. July 1.	4 47 58
Long.	2 51 53 E.

Loheia.

On the 22d September, lat. 15. 35. 5. long. by esteem 2 h. E. from Greenwich, observed an emersion of the second satellite of Jupiter, when it was 7. 16. 38. by the clock.

Masuah.

α in Pegasus wing.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
40 44 30	7 29 23	25 3 9	91	Cloudy and calm.
44 23 50	7 43 19			Barometer 20

feet above the level.

Between these two, in the Journal.		Apparent time computed.
41 56 10	7 33 2	7 29 25.0
43 7	7 37 58	7 44 37.3
	Clock slow,	0 2.0
		1 18.3
	Mean,	0 40 slow.
		7 16 38
		+ 0 40
Apparent time of eclipse, - - -		7 17 18
Ditto, computed for meridian of Greenwich, by new tables in Nautical Almanack of 1779, which agree in the observations made in 1769. See Tables, p. 25.		4 38 52
		2 38 26 E.

On the 23d of January 1770, in the morning, in lat. 14. 4. 35. N., long. 2 h. E. from Greenwich, observed an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 5 h. 25. 37. by the Clock.

On the extremity of the country of Sire.—Three hundred paces to the S. S. E. was the village Adeflo ; and two hundred distant from the church of Zaselasse, or the Trinity.

Regulus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
32 21 45	5 33 47			There were vapours and
+ 31 47 45	5 36 11			some clouds.
31 16 25	5 38 20			

In the original Journal, additional to the altitudes.

Antaris.		
37 47 30	5 43 22	
39 7 45	5 45 4	

Apparent time computed. 5 25 37

17 30 17.6 — 2 49 cl. fast.

17 36 11.5

Clock fast, { 3 29.4 / 2 8.5 — Apparent time, 17 22 48

Mean, 2 49 fast. — From obs. of Mar. 16. 14 50 47

2 32 10 E. lon.

On the first February 1770, in the morning, observed an immersion of the second satellite of Jupiter, in lat. 13. 24. 56. and esteemed long. 2 h. east of Greenwich, when it was 4 h. 38. 28. by the clock.

At Addergey, beside the river Mai Lumi.

Regulus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
33 77	4 49 8			Thin flying clouds.
+ 32 32 30	4 52 13			
31 47 20	4 55 21			

Apparent time calculated.——16 50 25.5

16 56 36.4

Clock slow. { 1 17.4 / 1 15.4

Mean, 1 16 slow.

4 38 28

+ 1 16 cl. slow.

Jan. 31. 16 39 44

By Observation of June 1st, at Greenwich, 14 7 56

Long. 2 31 48 E.

On the 3d March 1770, in the morning, in lat. 12. 34. 30. N., esteemed long. 2 h. E. of Greenwich, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 3 h. 53. 15. by the clock. (Gondar, 100 paces W. of Kedus Michael church.)

Lion's Tail (β)	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
42 39 40	4 7 38			Clear and calm.
+ 42 3 0	4 10 9	21 6	69	
41 12 0	4 13 41			

Apparent time computed. 3 53 15
15 56 52.6 — 10 45
16 2 56.9
Clock fast, { 10 44.1 App. time, March 2. 15 42 30
10 45 By obs. of March 16. 13 12 38
Long. 2 29 52 E.

On the 5th March 1770, in the morning, at same place, observed an immersion of the second satellite of Jupiter, when it was 4 h. 20. 55. by the clock.

Lion's tail, β.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
32 35 40	4 31 52			Clear and calm.
+ 32 4 20	4 34 8	21 6 3	63	
31 27 15	4 36 45			

Apparent time computed.
16 31 19.8
16 36 4.8
Clock fast, { 0 32.2
0 40.2
Mean, 0 36

4 20 55
— 0 36
By Observation of March 4. 16 20 19
By observation of June 1. at Greenwich, 13 51 6
Long. 2 29 13 E.

At same place, 10th March 1770, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 5 h. 36. 37. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
42 2 10	5 2 21	21 6 3	60½	Calm and
51 31 35	5 41 12			

Between these, in Journal. Apparent time computed.
42 43 20 5 5 11 17 3 3.3
43 19 15 5 7 35 17 41 52.7
Clock slow, { 0 42.3
0 40.7
Mean, 0 41

5 36 37
+ 0 41
March 9. Greenwich 17 37 18
15 7 23 by obs. of March 16.
Long. 2 29 55 E.

At the same place, 11th March 1770, observed an immersion of the third Satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 35. 14. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
27 41 0	3 59 43			Perfectly clear.
28 26 0	4 2 44	21 5 7	68½	
29 7 45	4 5 34			

Apparent time computed.

16 0 38.0
16 6 33.4
Clock slow, { 0 55.0 / 0 59.4
Mean, 0 57

1 35 14
+ 0 57

March 10th, 13 36 11
Do. at Greenwich, 11 4 37 by obs. of April 29, and new tables, inserted in Naut. Alm. of 1771.
Long. 2 31 34 E.

At the same place, 18th March 1770, observed an immersion of the third satellite of Jupiter, when it was 5 h. 34. 31. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
39 10 30	4 21 21			Thin vapours.
+ 39 59 20	4 24 41	21 6 4	60	
40 54 10	4 28 26			

Apparent time computed.

16 22 10.9
16 29 15
{ 0 49.9 / 0 49
Mean, 0 49 slow.

5 34 31
+ 0 49

March 17th, 17 35 20 apparent time.
Do. at Greenwich, 15 6 49 by obs. April 29th, and new tables annexed to Naut. Alm. of 1771.
Long. 2 28 31 E.

At the same place, lat. and esteemed long. as before, on the 26th March 1770, in the morning, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 3 h. 53. 27. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
45 26 50	4 15 32			Thin clouds; it lightens
+ 46 12 50	4 18 53	21 6	63	much to the south;
46 55 45	4 21 35			little wind.

Apparent time computed.

16 18 50.5
16 24 52.3
{ 3 18.5 / 3 17.3
Mean, 3 18. slow.

3 53 27
+ 3 18

March 25th 15 56 45
Ditto, at 13 26 33 Greenwich, by observation March 16th.
Long. 2 30 12 E.

By March 2d,	Im. 1.	2 29	52
4th,	Im. 2.	2 29	13
9th,	Im. 1.	2 29	55
10th,	Im. 3.	2 31	34
17th,	Im. 3.	2 28	31
25th,	Im. 1.	2 30	12
Mean of all -	-	2 29	53
Mean of three imm. of the first, to be preferred,		2 30	0

On the 23d April 1770, in the morning, in lat. 12. 12. 28. N. long. by esteem 2 h. E. of Greenwich, observed an immersion of the third satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 34. 11. by the clock. (Emfras.)

Spica virginus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
45 8 30	1 47 27			Thin clouds; nearly
+ 44 21 50	1 51 0	22	70¼	calm.
43 38 45	1 54 18			

Apparent time computed.

	13 47 47.8
	13 54 39.9
Clock slow,	0 26.8
	0 21.9
Mean,	0 21

	1 34 11
+	0 21
April 22d,	13 34 32
Do at Greenw.	11 3 47 by obs. of April 29th, and new tables annexed to N. Alm. of 1771.
Long.	2 3 45 E.

At same place and same morning, observed an immersion of the third satellite of Jupiter, when it was 3 h. 50. 51. by the clock, regulated as above.

	3 50 5
+	0 21
April 22d,	15 50 26 apparent time.

(I have no observation, made at Greenwich or elsewhere, proper to be compared with this.)

At same place, 27th April 1770, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 0. 35. 50. by the clock.

Regulus.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.	
34 34 10	11 26 40			Clear and calm.
+ 33 50 25	11 29 42			
32 47 25	11 34 1			

Apparent time computed.

	11 26 50.3
	11 34 10.4
	0 10.3
	9.4
Mean,	0 10

0 35 5
+ 0 10

April 26, 12 35 15 Apparent time.
Do. at Greenw. 10 4 57 by obs. of March 27.

Long. 2 30 18 E.

At the same place, May 1. in the morning, observed an immersion of the second satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 15. 34. by the clock.

Lucida Aquilæ.	Pendulum.	Barom.	Therm.
34 36 25	1 21 14		
35 30 50	1 24 55		
36 50 55	1 30 21		

Apparent time computed.

13 21 57.8
13 31 5.7
Slow, 0 43.8
0 44.7
Mean, 0 44
1 15 34
+ 0 44

April 30. 3 16 18 Apparent time.
10 45 44 by observation of June 1.

Long. 2 30 34 E.

	Long.
By April 22d Imm. 3d,	2 30 45
26th Imm. 1st,	2 30 18
30th Imm. 2d,	2 30 34
Mean,	2 30 32 E.

On the 27th of May, 1772, in lat. 13. 34. 36. N. by esteem 2 hours E. from Greenwich (Sennaar) observed an eclipse of the 2d satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 19. 15. by the clock.

1 19 15
May 26, + 0 22 for clock slow.

13 19 37 Apparent time.
11 6 14 ditto at Greenwich, by observation of June 2.

Long. 2 13 23 E.

And in the same day and place observed an immersion of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 26. 30. by the clock.

Altitude of Arcturus.	Pendulum.
31 41 30	1 51 40
29 1	2 2 49

1 26 30
+ 0 22

13 26 52 Apparent time.
11 12 31 by observation of June 9.

Long. 2 14 21 E.

Apparent time computed.

	13	51	54.3
	14	3	19.5
Clock slow,	0	14.3	
	0	30.5	
Mean,	0	22	slow.

	Hours.
By Imm. 2d.	2 13 23
By Imm. 1st.	2 14 21
But the proper mean, allowing twice as much to the first satellite as to the second is - - - - - - -	2 13 52 E.
	2 14 2 E.

On the 27th September, in lat. 15. 45. 54. long. by esteem 2 h. E. of Greenwich (Halfaia) observed an immersion (in one of the Journals, emersion) of the 1st satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 7. 25. by the clock.

Altitude of Aldebran.			Pendulum.
48	54	40	1 15 50
51	23	30	1 25 13

(in Journal, I think marked 20, but this uncertain.)

Apparent time computed.

	13	12	3.7
	13	22	24.9
Fast,	3	46.3	
	2	48.1	
Mean, clock,	3	17	Fast.

1 7 25 by the clock,
3 17 clock fast.

	13	4	8 Apparent time.
Ditto at Greenwich	10	52	51 by observation corresponding.
Long.	2	11	17 E.

Just before the observation, the thunder beat in the far side of the room, and covered us with dust; excepting this the observation was good.

The appearance of Aldebran was very remarkable all the way down the desert. At all times of the night that it appeared, it was in paleness equal to that of the neighbouring stars, which was very different from its colour in the high country, where it was red, little different from its general appearance in Europe.

On the 13th of October, 1772, at Chendi, in lat. 16. 38. 37, by esteem 2 h. E. of Greenwich, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 1 h. 35. 25. (in the Journal 5 seconds) by the clock.

Altitude of Aldebran.	Pendulum.	Therm.	
42 24 25	11 50 39	88	Bright moonshine; perfectly clear and calm—good observation. A large ostrich pecked at my barometer and broke it.

On the 5th November, 1772, at Goos, in lat. 17. 57. 22. by esteem 2 hours E. of Greenwich, observed an immersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, when it was 11 h. 54. 32. by the clock.

Altitude of Betelgueze.			Pendulum.
12	8	31	47 31 0
12	14	19	48 52 20

These, excepting the few which follow, are all the observations of latitude and longitude found in Mr Bruce's Journals. Yet a considerable number of both appears to have been made by him, which the editor could not discover among his papers; several loose leaves being lost or mislaid on which they were written. The observations of longitude from January 11, 1769, to September 27, 1772, were calculated for Mr Bruce by the present astronomer royal, Dr Maskelyne, in the year 1785. These calculations are inserted in the preceding list; for the errors of which, if there are any, the editor solely is responsible. The two observations of the first satellite at Chendi and Gooz were not in the copy transmitted to Dr Maskelyne. In that copy also, two consecutive altitudes of a star were given, by which to correct the clock; but, in the Journals, three are generally found, and in some instances more. These additional altitudes are inserted with the mark + prefixed to them.

As the observations of both kinds, at Sennaar and down the desert, are very valuable, the following are extracted verbatim from the Journals, in order to shew exactly the state in which they were recorded.

"Elements of an observation of Longitude at Sennaar, May 27, 1772. The latitude of Sennaar is by several observations found 13° 34′ 36″ N. Observed the eclipse of the second sat. at 1 h. 19. 5. by the clock. Observed the immersion of the first sat. of Jupiter at 1. 26. 30. by the clock. Observed two altitudes of Arcturus to correct the time by the clock. Clock, 1. 51. 40. Alt. 31. 41. 30. Clock, 2 h. 2. 49. Alt. 29. 1. 0. Right ascens. of Arcturus at Sennaar, May 27, 14 h. 5 19. Passage of the meridian, 9. 49. 3. Clock slow by the 1st obs. 0. 1. 2.; by the 2d, 0. 1. 16; mean, 0. 1. 9. Long. by the 1st sat. 2 h. 4. 59, by the 2d, 2 h. 1. 52, East long. from Paris, the meridian of the ephemerides.

Halfaia, Sunday, September 27, 1772, midnight, thermometer 83, wind N. at one o'clock morning, cloudy, dark in the west. Rectified the quadrant. Rectified above gives 89. 42. 30. reversed 90. 16. 0. Sum $\frac{179.\ 58.\ 30.}{2.}$ = 89. 59. 15. The quadrant gives 45″ too little.

Altitude of Cauda Cygni at Halfaia (this night) 61. 14. 50, to which add 45″ error of the quadrant, the true altitude is 61. 15. 35.

At Halfaia, this Sunday, September 27, at 1 past midnight, the heavens hazy; observed an emersion of the 1st satellite at 1. 7. 25. by the clock (that is the 28th of September in the morning). And two altitudes of Aldebran taken to correct the clock, it was at 1. 15. 50. Alt. 48. 54. 20. At 1. 25 13. Alt. 51. 23. 30.

Halfaia, Saturday, September 26. observed the sun's meridian. Altitude 73. 7. 30. Subt. refract. 13. and sun's semid. 16′, 2 = 72. 50. 25. which, taken from 90, leaves 17. 9. 35. 72. 50. 25 + decl. 1. 23. 41. = 74. 14. 6. Latitude of Halfaia, 15. 45. 54.

Chendi, October 11, 1772. Observed the meridian altitude of Cauda Cygni 62. 13. 45. + 45 error of the quad. = 62. 14. 30. Thursday, October 15, observed the meridian altitude of the Sun's upper limb, 64. 49. 30 + Error of the quad. 45 = 64. 50. 15. Same day, observed the meridian altitude of Cauda Cygni 62. 13. 40 + 45 = to 62. 14. 25. From these the lat. of Chendi comes to be N. L. 16. 42. 43. the difference between which and that of Halfaia, N. L. 15. 43. 49. is 0. 58. 54. so that our course was N. E. and to E. of N. E.; our diff. is near 59 miles, which we have gone north from Halfaia. The lat. of the city Meroe is 16. 26.

At Chendi this 13th of October observed an emersion of the first satellite of Jupiter, by the clock at 11. 35. 25. Aldebran, 42. 23. 40. Clock 11. 50. 39. Night perfectly clear. Error of the quadrant to be added to the altitude, viz. 42. 23. 40. + 45. True height, 42. 24. 25. not deducting refraction. Therm. 88. dead calm; cloudy in the horizon to the south; but overhead clear and cloudless; bright moonshine.

Nov. 5. 1772, at Goos, 2 h. E. from Greenwich, observed in lat. 17. 57. 22. an immersion of the first satellite at 11. 54. 32. by the clock.

Betelgueze.	Clock.
12 8 31	47 31 0
12 14 19	48 52 20

The observation at Chiggre has not been found.

At Assouan (Syene) December 8, observed the meridian altitude of the sun's upper limb, 42. 25. 50. + 45. = 42. 26. 35. at the Shourbagi's house in the north end of the town, also the meridian altit. of Orion's west shoulder 72. 5. 0. + 45 error of the quadrant = 72. 5. 45. and the merid. alt. of Orion's east shoulder, 73. 18. 0, or with the 45. added 73. 18. 45.

At Syene, Thursday, December 10, observed the merid. alt. of the Sun's upper limb, 43. 15. 20 + 45 = 43, 16. 5. From this, viz. at the great mosque to the centre of the old town is three-fourths of a mile, at least 4900 feet.

Dr Maskelyne's Note to Mr Bruce respecting the Observations calculated by him.

I have placed the apparent times (which I have had carefully computed by two different hands) by the side of the observations; and thence inferred the correction to be applied to the clock; and deduced the apparent time of the immersion, or the immersion of the Satellite; under which I have placed the immersion, or emersion, such as it ought to have been at Greenwich with a similar telescope, as inferred from the nearest observations made at the royal observatory by the help of the Nautical Almanack, except September 22, 1769, where, having had no observations of the second satellite at Greenwich that year, I inferred the time of the emersion from the late Mr Wargentin's New Tables of the second satellite, (see p. 25. of those tables annexed to the Nautical Almanack of 1779;) and excepting also the emersion of the third satellite on March 10, 1759, and April 22, 1770, where I made use of the same Mr Wargentin's new tables annexed to the Nautical Almanack of 1771, as far more exact than the eclipses calculated in the Nautical Almanack from the former tables, to compare with the immersion of the third satellite which I observed here, April 29, 1770. I have farther taken the proper mean of the several results of the observations made at each place, to determine the true longitude of each place of observation.

Dr Maskelyne's compliments to Mr Bruce; hopes this will answer his purpose, and that he shall have the pleasure of seeing them soon published, together with his other curious remarks and observations made in his travels.

GREENWICH, *February* 9, 1785.

No. L.

EXPLANATIONS OF PARTICULAR PLATES.

PLATES II. and III. The portraits of Ozoro Esther, Tecla Mariam, Kefla Yasous, Woodage Asahel, &c. are engraved from drawings made for Mr Bruce at Gondar by L. Balugani. Mr Bruce had a volume of finished drawings of the natives of the different countries in which he travelled; but this was unfortunately lost some time after his return to Scotland, and nothing remains but a few of the original sketches. The engravings are made from these; but as the sketches are not coloured, it is uncertain whether the tint of the Abyssinian complexion be accurately represented. The features of the greater part of the Abyssinians and Arabs are as elegant as those of Europeans; but the colour varies exceedingly, on account of their intermarriages with negroes. Some are nearly black; others, as the Agows and Galla, are red or copper-coloured, which is most prevalent; and not a few, particularly those of high rank, are not of so dark a colour as the nations in the south of Europe. Mr Bruce describes the complexion of the King, Tecla Haimanout, as being fairer than that of a Neapolitan or Portuguese. Many of the Abyssinian and Arab women have very regular features, and elegant persons, but the oriental ideas of beauty differ from ours; corpulence and *embonpoint* being generally preferred to elegance of shape. The Abyssinian ladies are not confined as in Arabia. They dress at times in the Mahometan style, lately imitated even in Britain. Kefla Yasous and Woodage Asahel, two celebrated chiefs, wear the silver horn, the badge of victory, a custom as ancient as the days of David, who often alludes to it.

SPECIMENS OF THE ABYSSINIAN LANGUAGES.

PLATES, No. IV. V. VI.

These three plates contain the specimens of the first nine verses of the Song of Solomon, in the several languages of Habbesh, inserted by Mr Bruce, in the first volume of the Travels. They have been corrected by the original MS. mentioned in this Appendix, No. XLIII.; and the name of each language, as given by the scribe at the end of each translation of the Canticles, is added to the specimens.

Plate, No. IV. contains, for the sake of illustration, the Abyssinian alphabet, including the letters which have been invented for the purpose of writing the Amharic: in all 33. Each letter, besides its original form, assumes six others, in order to represent the vowels which are attached to it. Twenty-six of the letters belong to the Geez or Ethiopic, and seven to the Amharic. Their names are as follows: 1. Hoi, pronounce as *h* in home; 2. Lawi, *l*; 3. Haut, *h* very forcibly; 4. Mai, *m*; 5. Saut, *s*; 6. Rees, *r*; 7. Sât, *s*; 8. Shât, *sh*; 9. Kaf, *k* or *g*; 10. Bet, *b*; 11. Tawi, *t*; 12. Tshawi, *tsh* or *tch*; 13. Harm, *h* forcibly; 14. Nahas, *n*; 15. Nnahos, *gn* in Italian, or *n* in the word minion; 16. Alph, *a*, but changing into the sound of whatever vowel follows it; 17. Caf. *k*; 18. Chaf, *h*, or as *ch* in the Scotch dialect; 19. Waw, *w*; 20. Ain, sounds like an *a* pronounced in the throat, and is a letter peculiar to the Arabic and its dialects; 21. Zai, *z*; 22. Zai, pronounced like *j* in French; 23. Yaman, *y*; 24. Dent, *d*; 25. Djent, *j* in English; 26. Geml, *g*, hard; 27. Tait, *t* pronounced with force; 28. Tchait, or Tshait, *tch* or *tsh*, forcibly pronounced; 29. Pait, *p* pronounced with force, and like one stammering; 30. Tsadai, *s*, pronounced with force, as if doubled; 31. Tsappa, *s*, pronounced as the preceding letter; these two are often confounded together; 32. Af, *f*; 33. Psa, *p*, in a stammering forcible manner.

Of these, Nos. 8, 12, 15, 18, 22, 25, 28, are Amharic. For particulars, see Ludolf's Ethiopic and Amharic Grammars and Dictionaries.

The same plate contains a petition written by a scribe, in Amharic, for Mr Bruce, and intended to be presented to Susneus, or Socinios, who had usurped the throne of Abyssinia on the flight of the King and Ras Michael to Tigre, in June 1770. Mr Bruce, having been robbed in May preceding, by a party commanded by Gebra Medehin and Confu, sons of Basha Eusebius, presents this petition to Socinios, in order to recover by the king's authority what he had lost. As the Amharic language is not known in Europe, except in the ingenious but imperfect vocabulary by Ludolf, which is not sufficient to enable a translator to proceed with absolute certainty, the present writer will not undertake to give a complete translation of this paper. The address to the king, in the two first lines, is as follows:

"Yagoube the Copt* (Egyptian) says to the Sovereign Susneus, king of kings, whom the Lord has chosen from among his brethren, children of the king, to great honour both of body and mind, May the Lord prolong his days like those of *Enoch* and *Elias*. Amen.

"Ayto Gebra Medehin, Ayto Confu, sons of Basha Eusebius, in Foggora, &c. [This petition states, that they and their servants attacked his people near Dara, in the district of Negade Ras Mahomet, and robbed them of property in value five† ounces of gold; that the servants of Guebra Medehin and Confu were together in the attack, and that these chiefs divided the spoil, and retained it without making restitution. It requests the king to pass judgment on them, according to his justice; and concludes with the word of supplication used by the people of Amhara (Janhoi! Janhoi!) my king! my king! For an account of which, vide Travels, Vol. IV. p. 457.]

In No. VI. three verses from the 8th chapter of the Song of Solomon, are added to the specimen of the Galla. They contain the address to the bride, and the description of the strength and excellence of love. The following is a literal translation:

* Mr Bruce, during his residence at Gondar, was called Yacoube Kiptsi, the Copt; the name of Frank being proscribed, and dangerous.

† Perhaps 50.

VERSE 5.

Aca borada canduyatu, enuni; adi can tatu; can ifetu tatu;
As light who cometh, who (is she); white who is; who brightness is;
yalema wabolesaco caniti arcotu: Huduadati caninsifedue;
on her brother who leaneth: From the apple-tree I have raised thee;
iseti hadake acufesati; iseti hadake, cansidese,
there thy mother bore thee; there thy mother, who brought thee forth,
acufesati. Aca hamartid kelbiketi ancai; aca aicalida dumdumketi,
bore thee. As a seal on thy heart put me; as a bracelet on thy arm
andiratshisi. Djalali aca dua djubdua; inafeni aca awala adelante-
place me. Love as death strong is; jealousy as the grave cruel
dua; balanesh can guba cabeni, bala yabida. Bisan gudu djalela
is; the coals of it which burn (are) a coal of fire. Water much of love
balesu hindandaiani: bisanwani hisotchesani.
destruction cannot make: waters drown it not, &c. &c.

WORDS AND PHRASES.—*Anai da*, I am; *horma*, breast; *hormawan*, breasts; *bisan*, water; *bisanwan*, waters. Plurals are generally made by adding *an* or *wan*. *Can*, who (rel.); *cuni*, this (demonst.); *hi*, prefixed to verbs, signifies, not. Genitives are made, by adding *d* to the noun.

EXPLANATION OF THE MAPS.

Map I. Plan of two attempts to arrive at the source of the Nile.

This map is an exact copy of the chart made by L. Balugani for Mr Bruce, after the journey to Geesh. It was engraved from it without any additions, and gives a very accurate view of their routes; but it must not be considered as a complete view of the space which it includes. The general figure of the lake, and many of the streams which fall into it, as well as the course of the Abay through its waters, and such of the islands as could be seen from the road, are laid down with sufficient care; but several places of note are unfortunately omitted from Mr Bruce's in-

attention; for it cannot be supposed that he did not know their situation. For instance, he omits Gorgora, the celebrated palace of Socinios, built by the Jesuits, though he mentions it in the Travels; and Dancaz, another habitation of the same king not far from Gorgora. He takes no notice of Coga, once a royal residence, nor of many considerable isles in the lake. But what is most remarkable of all is, his omission of Ibaba, the capital of Maitsha, the second city in Habbesh, and little inferior to Gondar itself. As one of the principal uses of a map is to shew the relative situation of places frequently mentioned in the book, I have ventured to insert Gorgora, Dancaz, and Coga, from the Map in Ludolf's History of Abyssinia, and from that in Le Grande's relation. Ibaba is inserted on conjecture, from the description of its situation given in the Travels; but though none of these positions are very erroneous, the reader must not depend upon their geographical accuracy. Several other places might have been inserted from the maps of the Jesuits; but as these were laid down with little regard to a scale, it is improper to mix what is doubtful with what is certain.

Map II. Chart of the Arabian Gulf, with its Egyptian, Ethiopian, and Arabian coasts, from Suez to Babelmandeb; of a journey through Abyssinia to Gondar, its capital, and thence to the sources of the Nile; and the return by Sennaar and the great desert of Nubia and Beja.

Of this map, the part which is most valuable is the delineation of Mr Bruce's voyages on the Red Sea, and of his journies by land; the rest is necessarily compiled from the information of other travellers.

It was first constructed on a large scale, and then reduced before being engraved. The Arabian gulf was laid down from his own observations chiefly, and from some materials which he got at Jidda. Those parts of Abyssinia which he visited, or which he saw at a distance, are very accurately delineated, and their positions fixed by careful observation. But all the south, including Amhara, Angot, Shoa, Walaka, Dawaro, &c. is inaccessible to strangers, being in the hands of the Galla, and the geography of it found only in the maps of the Jesuits, who travelled in Habbesh before the kingdom was over-run by barbarians. The

coast of the Red Sea, and part of the interior from Masuah to the river Hawash is laid down on the authority of Alvarez, chaplain to the Portuguese embassy, 1520, or rather from the maps constructed from his account and that of the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, who entered Habbseh by the way of Dancali. Mr Bruce got information of the distances in the south and west from the Mahometan merchants, (vide Appendix, No. XLVI.), which he used in delineating the peninsula formed by the Abay and the Galla country beyond it between Bizamo and Caffa*. I have ventured to insert, from Le Grande and Ludolf, the places Atronsa Mariam, Mecana Selasse, Ganeta Georgis, and St Stephen's, in Amhara, as being often mentioned in the Travels. Coga is added from the same authors, and Ibaba from conjecture.

Mr Bruce's route from Gondar to Sennaar, and thence to Syene, is laid down from a computation† of the length of his journies, made daily as he proceeded; the bearings were carefully ascertained by compass; and the whole corrected by observations of latitude.

The information from which Mr Bruce constructed that part of his map which relates to the country between Arkeeko on the Red Sea, and Gooz in Atbara, is given at full length in the Appendix, No. XLVI. Parts 2. and 3. In that number, the editor has collected, from the journals, the whole mass of information concerning Atbara, the White River, Darfoor, and the countries around Sennaar, which Mr Bruce received from the natives and traders. It appears from these entries, that Mr Bruce laid down the White River, not, as some have asserted, from a design to confound it with Maleg, but from a supposition that it rose in the marshes of Caffa. (Vide his opinion, Travels, Vol. VII. pp. 91, 92.) He did not believe that any river which rose to the west of the Nile took an eastward course, (ibid. Vol. VII. p. 92.); and his mistake

* For an account of the journey of Fernandes to Narea and Gingiro by Miné, see Travels, Vol. III. p. 323.

† The number of hours which he travelled per diem, and the particular rate of each day, was marked in the journals, with the bearings. The route was traced on graduated paper from these notices. A slight correction of the route from Ras-el-feel to Sennaar was made by himself, in the map of this edition.

seems to indicate, that a very considerable river rises in Narea, and falls either into the Bahar el Abiad, or into the Abay, in Fazuclo.

He lays down a range of mountains in N. Lat. 11. as extending across the country from Fazuclo to the west. The name of these he was informed was Dyre and Tegla, near which he supposed the Vallis Garamantica of the ancient geographers to be situated. As it is now certain that Germa, in Fezzan, is the Garama of antiquity, I have dismissed the expression " olim forsan Garamantica Vallis," and substituted, from Browne, the names Deir and Tuggula instead of Dyre and Tegla. I believe, however, that both are written, in Arabic, Dair, and Tekla, but pronounced Deir and Tuggula, or Tegla, as is the custom of the country. Deir (Dyris and Daran) is a common name of African mountains. For an account of Deir and Tuggula, vide Browne's Travels in Darfoor, p. 462, and his maps *in loco.*

Lebeit and Harraza (or Ibeit and Harraz) are placed in Mr Bruce's map, by computation, from the notices, Appendix, No. XLVI. Part 3. The error, if there be any, in these positions, must arise from the uncertainty of computing days' journies. The position of Dongola rests on a similar foundation, as do those of the other places on the Nile, there given, down to Ibrim.

When I mention the passages in the journal on which Mr Bruce founded these and other geographical positions, I mean not to assert that he had not information from other sources. Poncet's narrative, and the maps of the Jesuits, as well as those constructed from them, were probably perused by him, in order to confirm his own intelligence. He has delineated Poncet's route from Egypt to Habbesh, and paid much deference to his authority. But a traveller is accountable only for his own path; if he mistake in what he has not seen, he has an excuse which must be accepted.

That part of the map, relating to Egypt, is constructed with little care, because the author supposed that the country was sufficiently known.

The reader having now before him, in the Travels, or in this Appendix, all the written information which Mr Bruce left on the geography

of particular places, and many of the astronomical observations of latitude and longitude which he made in Africa, is requested to consult the printed materials, rather than the map constructed on them, and to use the candour and science of Rennel, rather than the morose insinuations of some inferior geographers, who think that ill nature is philosophy, and dogmatism truth. In all probability, a long time will elapse before another traveller observe the satellites of Jupiter at Gondar.

FINIS.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 20, line 4, for "many," read "some part."
126, line *penult.* for "succeeding volumes," read "last Edition of the Travels."

GEORGE RAMSAY & CO. PRINTERS.

SPEEDILY WILL BE PUBLISHED,

RESEARCHES

INTO

THE ORIGIN AND AFFINITY

OF THE

GREEK AND TEUTONIC LANGUAGES,

IN WHICH

THE HISTORY OF THE FORMER, PRECEDING THE AGE OF HOMER, IS TRACED AND ASCERTAINED;
THE SOURCES OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY EXPLORED;
AND SEVERAL INTERESTING FACTS ESTABLISHED, CONCERNING
THE FIRST POPULATION OF THE WEST.

BY ALEXANDER MURRAY, F. A. S. E.
Author of the "Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce, Esq."

THE Work which is here announced to the Public is the result of a minute examination of all the principal languages of Europe. The author prosecuted his inquiries, under a persuasion that philological researches, conducted on rational principles, serve to elucidate the affinity of nations at a remote period; to secure the acquisitions progressively made by taste and science; to abridge the labours of erudition, already too burdensome; and to illustrate many operations of the mind itself. While some or all of these advantages have occurred to the thoughts of those who have speculated on this subject, they have constantly been obliged to regret, that the works of practical grammarians are, in general, confused and unscientific, and that the treatises of theoretical writers present little except a mass of misapplied erudition and fanciful assumptions, too vague to admit of proof, and often too ridiculous to deserve any notice. A kind of prejudice has existed, for some time, against inquiries into the nature and history of language, from an opinion that the subject is unworthy of the consideration of a philosopher, but arising chiefly from the manner in which these inquiries have hitherto been conducted. Without pretending to dogmatise on the comparative value of the different branches of human knowledge, it may be safely asserted that, in as far as the gratification of taste depends on melody, strength, variety, and every other excellence of expression, and the value of science on being elegantly, accurately, and extensively communicated, so far both are materially interested in philological discussions. Time, by destroying the medium of the one and the other, might equally deprive the world of the sublimity of Homer and the science of Euclid. The study of words indeed, as such, may be frivolous enough; but those who, with other necessary qualifications, are most conversant in this, are best fitted for acquiring all re-

corded knowledge, and also for preserving what may be discovered. Nor is the present low state of this species of literature owing to any other cause than to that neglect of almost every rule of sound investigation which, before the age of Bacon, rendered philosophy of every kind uncertain and contemptible.

In the above mentioned researches, the author has directed his attention to the elucidation of the early history of the Greek, because that language forms a part of our national education, and deserves regard as a principal repository of the finest monuments of ancient genius. Its grammatical structure and anomalies have been diligently examined. Many attempts have been made to methodise and explain its irregularities, but those being the efforts of persons who had not added to their classical knowledge any thing beyond a slight acquaintance with oriental literature, their erudition was inadequate to the task which they had in view. It has long been the opinion of the present writer, that a knowledge of Greek and Latin, however extensive, is insufficient to qualify a critic in these languages. In support of this idea, and of others still more important, he has examined the different branches of the *Celtic*, of the *Sclavonic*, and the *Arabic*, but particularly those of the *Teutonic* or *Gothic*, in all its varieties. He has been gratified to find, what has often been vaguely asserted, that the Greek and Latin are only dialects of a language much more simple, regular, and ancient, which forms the basis of almost all the tongues of Europe, and, as he hopes to be able to demonstrate on some future occasion, of the Sanscrit itself. This opinion is not founded on an assumption common amongst theological writers respecting the ultimate source of every language, an assumption which has tended only to mislead etymologists, but on actual observation and analysis, which alone can determine this point, and render it practically useful, when determined. His object has not been to multiply wild conjectures, but to discover truth ; and accordingly he has made it a rule in these inquiries, to admit no derivations that are not rational, and no rational derivations unsupported by facts.

When the dialects of any language present only slight differences in their grammatical structure, and in the greater part of their words, it requires little skill to discern what is ancient, regular, and uncorrupted. But when the differences are remote, and perceptible only to an experienced eye, the difficulty of analysis is not much relieved by the use of general rules, which are sometimes false, and often inapplicable. It has, however, been ascertained that, in the infancy of language, all words served indiscriminately both for nouns and verbs : that the first words were invented to designate whatever made a strong impression on the senses, particularly on that of feeling. To see, to hear, to taste, to smell, all denoted originally some application of the touch. On the several principles of association, words were next applied to express the powers and acts of the mind. The signs of case, number, mood, tense, person, adjective, substantive, participle, &c. conjoined with the radical, are acknowledged to have been, formerly, separate words, having their own particular meanings, which some of them still preserve. These facts, indistinctly apprehended by several able grammarians abroad, have of late been much established by Mr Tooke's analysis of the English, which as far as it goes, for he has not as yet completed it, deserves no common praise. The writer of this prospectus hopes that he has carried some of the doctrines contained in that work far beyond the state in which he found them ; and into a field of inquiry which terminates only with the world.

OUTLINE OF THE WORK.

CHAP. I. Short History of the ancient and modern dialects of the Teutonic, as preserved in the writings of the *Goths*, *Allamanni*, *Frisii*, *Franks*, *Anglo-Saxons*, and *Scandinavians*, and in the German, Low-dutch, Danish, Swedish and Icelandic. Remarks on the affinities of the nations that overturned the Roman empire. Large materials which the Teutonic dialects furnish for tracing the most ancient forms and senses of their words. Particular value of the Moesogothic dialect, in that respect.—Is so near-

ly related to the Anglo-Saxon as to confirm the account of *Jornandes*, who relates that the Goths migrated from the Baltic to the Euxine.

CHAP. II. Particular view of the Teutonic or Gothic in its earliest state. Forms of its radical words. Means by which it multiplied terms. Favourite modes of composition and contraction which pervade the whole language. Origin of pronouns for persons; of relative, possessive and demonstrative pronouns: Application of pronouns to the radical words. Origin of what is called the present tense. Origin of the Subjunctive, Optative, and Imperative.—Of Participles in general. Ancient use of the *present* as a future tense. Leading doctrine founded on this fact. Singular and ancient practice of doubling the word, or repeating it, in order to express past time. Origin of preterite tenses.—Two kinds of preterites. Effects of reduplication on the language in general. History of the words abbreviated and joined to verbs, in order to form the present and preterite participles. History of various species of the same verb, as *passives*, reciprocals, casuals, frequentatives, transitives, &c. &c. illustrative both of the verb and the noun.

CHAP. III. History of Teutonic nouns. Anciently nouns and verbs the same; for every noun expressed some leading quality of an object, and all leading qualities were considered as *active*. Proofs of this. From this idea of the active nature of qualities arose the practice of deriving nouns from the verbs, after the verbs had been formed by consignificative terms. Most if not all the existing Teutonic nouns formed in this manner. Short classification and enumeration of *the different kinds* of substantives and adjectives. Origin of cases, numbers, genders, marks of comparison. Important lights which the Teutonic affords with respect to these in Greek and Latin.

CHAP. IV. History of the Teutonic nouns of numbers. Vulgar error refuted that numerals and pronouns resemble one another in all languages. Explanation of the manner in which the first ten numbers were expressed by the Goths. Most important fact respecting tigund or tihund the word for ten. Formation of tiguntehund, or *ten-ten* to denote 100; and of the last syllable *hund* joined to *tiguns*, in order to form tigunshund, or a thousand. Light which this throws on all the languages of Europe. Criterion for the Celtic, British or Cimbric, Sclavonic, Latin, Greek, Persic, &c. &c.

CHAP. V. Application of the facts in the preceding Chapters to the Greek. Introductory observations on the history of Scythia, Thrace, Thessaly, and the Peloponnesus. Resemblance between the Greek and Teutonic pronouns. Identity of the Greek and Teutonic proved by suitable extracts from a particular examination of every native word in the Greek lexicon.

CHAP. VI. Comparison of Greek and Teutonic verbs: 1*mo*, Origin and history of the PRESENT tense, *indicative—subjunctive—optative—imperative*. Important hints derived from the Moesogothic on these heads. Nature of subjunctives and optatives in general, explained. History of Infinitives. History of *Participles* present and preterite. 2*do*. Origin and history of FUTURE tenses. The second future the most ancient, and originally, (as in the Gothic,) differing in nothing from the present. Origin of the first future, as it is called. Connection between future and optative tenses. Important fact on this point derived from the Teutonic. 3*tio*. Origin and history of PRETERITE tenses. Of the class formed by an augment, commonly called imperfects and aorists. History of the augment from the Gothic. Application of the facts in Chap. II. to illustrate all this kind of tenses. Errors pointed out respecting the aorists. The second aorist not related to the future. Absurdity of supposing that these tenses are at the same preterite and future. Of the class of preterite tenses formed by redoubling the verb. Connection between preterites active and preterites medial. History of the formation of differ-

ent *species* of the same verb. Of the middle and passive forms. Most important notices which the Moesogothic gives on that subject. History of medials, passives, deponents, or reciprocals, throughout their tenses.

CHAP. VII. Origin of secondary verbs, derived from nouns. Origin, history and classification of irregular verbs of various kinds. Universal light which the Gothic diffuses over every class of the Greek anomalies. List of Greek *irregulars*, with the same in Gothic and Anglo-Saxon.

CHAP. VIII. Of the different kinds of Greek nouns—Of their cases, numbers, genders, terminations. Analysis of these terminations from the Teutonic. Of adjectives, and marks of comparison. Of the adjective pronouns of various kinds; and the corresponding words in the Gothic. Of numerals. Deciding facts with respect to these.

CHAP. IX. Of Adverbs. History of all the Adverbial terminations. List of the most common Greek adverbs, and their ancient forms in the Teutonic.

CHAP. X. Of Greek Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Particles. All these classes of words are illustrated in an admirable manner by the Gothic. Original form of each preposition. History of its construction. Beautiful simplicity which exists in this department of the language. List and derivation of the principal conjunctions. Ancient form, meaning, and use, of all that class which has been called enclitics, particles, &c.

CHAP. XI. Hints for the composition of a Graeco-Teutonic lexicon, as a specimen of which is given a list of verbs which originally began with W, or, as it has been called, the Digamma. Directions for promoting the knowledge of Greek philology.

CHAP. XII. General views suggested by the preceding analysis of the Greek with respect to the Latin, which is a dialect of the Greek tinged with Celtic, but retaining many Teutonic words in a purer state. Hints on the original population of Europe; and the affinity between the Teutonic and some of the principal languages of Asia. Connection between the Teutonic and Sanscrit. Thoughts on the history of Persia and India.

The writer of the above outline cannot doubt that the facts contained in the work, here proposed to be submitted to the public, will change the whole appearance of classical philology. But his views extend still farther. He hopes that philosophy may at length abridge all that kind of philological erudition which has hitherto been an impediment to science, and, by methodising what has been only a confused burden on the memory, render the acquisition of every language in the world, ancient or modern, rational, easy, and expeditious. It would much facilitate the intercourse of the civilized part of mankind with barbarous nations, if their languages were better known; and the access which these open to their history, and to a knowledge of the countries around them, needs no explanation. If we understood all the dialects of the barbarians of Tartary, Thibet, Siam, and Hindustan, we could soon speak to the origin of the Chinese, and would probably find that the Sanscrit is only a branch of the old Persic, and the language of Pekin a corrupt but elegant form of the speech of some obscure Mongul tribe.

This prospectus has been written to announce the work to the public, rather than to give an account of the form in which it will appear. The subject is extensive, but it is the intention of the author to comprise it within as small a compass as possible; and, as the treatise is nearly ready for the Press, no time will be lost in arranging the publication.

G. Ramsay & Co. Printers.

Ozoro Esther

Tecla Mariam.

Kefla Yasous

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & Co.

Woodage Asahel.

Abyssinian Lady of Quality.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

Ethiopic and Amharic Alphabet

1 ሀ ሁ ሂ ሃ ሄ ህ ሆ. 2 ለ ሉ ሊ ላ ሌ ል ሎ. 3 ሐ ሑ ሒ ሓ ሔ ሕ ሖ. 4 መ ሙ ሚ ማ ሜ ም ሞ. 5 ሠ ሡ ሢ ሣ ሤ ሥ ሦ. 6 ረ ሩ ሪ ራ ሬ ር ሮ. 7 ሰ ሱ ሲ ሳ ሴ ስ ሶ. 8 ሸ ሹ ሺ ሻ ሼ ሽ ሾ. 9 ቀ ቁ ቂ ቃ ቄ ቅ ቆ. 10 በ ቡ ቢ ባ ቤ ብ ቦ. 11 ተ ቱ ቲ ታ ቴ ት ቶ. 12 ቸ ቹ ቺ ቻ ቼ ች ቾ. 13 ኀ ኁ ኂ ኃ ኄ ኅ ኆ. 14 ነ ኑ ኒ ና ኔ ን ኖ. 15 ኘ ኙ ኚ ኛ ኜ ኝ ኞ. 16 አ ኡ ኢ ኣ ኤ እ ኦ. 17 ከ ኩ ኪ ካ ኬ ክ ኮ. 18 ኸ ኹ ኺ ኻ ኼ ኽ ኾ. 19 ወ ዉ ዊ ዋ ዌ ው ዎ. 20 ዐ ዑ ዒ ዓ ዔ ዕ ዖ. 21 ዘ ዙ ዚ ዛ ዜ ዝ ዞ. 22 ዠ ዡ ዢ ዣ ዤ ዥ ዦ. 23 የ ዩ ዪ ያ ዬ ይ ዮ. 24 ደ ዱ ዲ ዳ ዴ ድ ዶ. 25 ጀ ጁ ጂ ጃ ጄ ጅ ጆ. 26 ገ ጉ ጊ ጋ ጌ ግ ጎ. 27 ጠ ጡ ጢ ጣ ጤ ጥ ጦ. 28 ጨ ጩ ጪ ጫ ጬ ጭ ጮ. or ጰ ጱ ጲ ጳ ጴ ጵ ጶ. 29 ጸ ጹ ጺ ጻ ጼ ጽ ጾ. 30 ፀ ፁ ፂ ፃ ፄ ፅ ፆ. 31 ፈ ፉ ፊ ፋ ፌ ፍ ፎ. 32 ፐ ፑ ፒ ፓ ፔ ፕ ፖ. 33 ቨ ቩ ቪ ቫ ቬ ቭ ቮ.

ቀ ቍ ቂ ቃ ቄ ቅ ቈ. ኈ ኍ ኊ ኋ ኌ ው ኍ ኎ ኊ ኋ ኌ ው ኍ ኎.

Petition of M.r Bruce in Amharic to Susneus the Usurper 1770.

ደቤ፡ ደዕቀብ፡ ገብጸዊ፡ ለእገዚእ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነገሥት፡ ሱስንዮስ፡ ዘሐረዮ፡ እገዚአብሔር፡ ለክብረ፡ ሠጋ፡ ወነፍስ፡ አመአንቂሁ፡ ወአደ፡ ንገሠ። እገዚአብሔር፡ ይንሃ፡ ዘመናሙ፡ ክሙ፡ ሃናክ፡ ወአልየስ፡ አሜን።

አቤቱ፡ ገብረ፡ መድኅና፡ አቤተ፡ ክንፈ፡ የባሳ፡ አብሳብየስ፡ ልጀች፡ በርገረ፡ መንገድ፡ ስጄደ፡ ብቢቲን፡ ቀመኝ፡ ደገዎ፡ በነገው፡ ክነጋደፈስ፡ መሃመደ፡ ቤትድረስ፡ ደፈ፡ አመሳሰው፡ ባለ፡ ጋሻ፡ መጽተው፡ ያዙኝ፡ ብደር፡ ወሰደው፡ ብ2ታቸው፡ ረት፡ አቀመኝ፡ ክትሰወንን፡ ክቤት፡ ገብረ፡ መደሄና፡ ክቤት፡ ክንፈ፡ ባንድ።ሁነው፡ ክትሰጠኝ፡ አመስት፡ ወዋት፡ ስጠኝ፡ አለዚያ፡ አናርድህአለኝ፡ አለኝ፡ ደህነንም፡ ናጋድ፡ ራስ፡ መሃመድ።ሰምት፡ አመስት፡ ወቃት፡ ክፈለልኝ፡ ሰለኔ፡ ገብረ፡ መድን፡ አሰብ፡ ላረ፡ አለመደመ። ወንድሙ፡ ገኝ፡ አለ፡ ነገርሁት፡ ስጠኝ፡ ብዩ፡ አሙቢ፡ አርሰዎ2ን፡ አንደፍርደዎ፡ ያሰጠኝ፡ አንደ፡ ንጉሠ፡ ነተወ፡ አገዚር፡ አንዲያሳየወ፡ ጀንሀደ፡ ጀንሀደ።

Fac Simile of M.r Bruce's Writing 1768.

I am always With the greatest regard & Esteem

My Dear Sir Your most Affectionate & most Obed

humble Servant

James Bruce

Specimens of the Abyssinian Languages

1st Geez

መሐልየ፡ መሐልየ፡ ዝውሽቱ፡ ዘሰሎዋኝ፡ ይስዕመኒ፡
በስዕመተ፡ አፈሁ፡ አደመ፡ አጥበትኒ፡ እመወይኑ፡
ወመዓዛ፡ ዕፈረትኒ፡ እምኩሉ፡ አሪው። ።ዕፈረተ።
ዘተሠውጠ፡ ስምኅ፡ ወበእንተዝ፡ ደናገለ፡
አፈቀሬክ። ወሰሐሳኅ፡ ደኃሬክ፡ በመዐዛ፡ ዕ
ፈረትክ፡ ኀረውጽ። አኅስኒ፡ ኀጕሠ፡ ውስተ፡
ጽርሑ፡ ኀትፈሣሕ፡ ወኀትሐሠይ፡ ብኪ፡
ናፈቅር፡ አጥባተኪ፡ እመወይኑ። ወርቱዕ፡
አፍቅሮ፡ትኪ። ጸላሙ፡ አነ፡ ወሠናይት፡ እመ አ
ቀልደ፡ ኢየረሳሌም። ኪመ፡ ምጽላላተ፡ ቀደር፡
ወኀይመትቱ፡ ሰሎዋኝ። ኢትርአያኒ፡ እስመ፡
አነ፡ ጸላም፡ እስመ፡ ኢርአየኒ፡ ፀሐይ።

ደቂቀ፡ እምየ፡ ተበሰሉ፡ በእንቲአየ። አኀበረኒ፡
ዐቃቢተ፡ ወጸደ፡ ወይኔ፡ ዐጸደ፡ ወይኔ፡ ዘዚአየ፡
ኢዐቀብኩ። ኀገረኒ፡ ዘአፍቀረት፡ ኀፍስየ፡
አይቲ፡ ትሬሂ፡ ወአይቲ፡ ትሰኅብ፡ ረዚ፡ ቀትር፡
ኀመ፡ ኢይኩን፡ እንዘ፡ አኀጊር፡ ወስተ፡ መሬ
ዕየ፡ ኅልሳኒኽ። እመ፡ ኢይእመርክ፡ ርእሰኪ፡
ዘናይት፡ እመአኀስት፡ ፃኢ፡ አኀቲ፡ ውስተ፡
ሰኩናሆሙ፡ ለመርዔት። ወረዐይ፡ መሓስአ፡
አጣሊኪ፡ ወስተ፡ አዕጸደቲሆሙ፡ ለናሎት፡
ለፈረስየ፡ ወለሰረገላት፡ ፈርዖን፡
አስተሣሰልኩኪ፡ አኀት፡ ኀቤየ።=

2d Amharic

ይህ፡ ብዎሰጋና፡ የሚበለጸ፡ ውሰጋና፡ የሰሎመን፡
ኀው። ባፋ፡ አፉው፡ ይሰመኝል። ክወይኔ፡ ይልት፡
ጡቶችሽ፡ ይስ፡ ይላሉ። የሾቱሽዎ፡ ሽታ፡ ብሸቱ፡
ሁለ፡ የሸለል። በሰጣ፡ የተቀለቀለ፡ ስሙ፡አንደ፡
ሽቱ፡ ያስወደደኝል። ክለዚህ፡ ቀናጅተ፡ ወደዱህ፡
ሁዋለሟኝ፡ ተብተሉህ። በሽቱህ፡ ሽታ፡ አንሔደ
ለን። ንገሠ፡ ብጨገላው፡ አገባኝ። ባንቸ፡ ደስ
ይለናል፡ ጠቆችሽን፡ ክወይኔ፡ ይልቅ፡ እንወደለን።
አገችኝ፡ መወደድ፡ ቅኔ፡ ንገር፡ ኀው።
ክየሩሳሌም፡ ቆናጅት፡ ይልቅ፡ ጠቁሬአለሁ
።እንደ፡ ዘላኔ፡ ሳጀ፡ እንደ፡ ሰለ ዎኔ፡ ደንኳኔ፡

ኦዎሬ፡ ኀበረ፡ ጠቁሬአለሁና። እትይኝ፡
ፀሐይ፡ አለየንሞና የናቲ፡ ልጆች፡ ሰለኔ፡
ተጸለ። ወይኔ፡ ጠክቲ፡ ብሎ፡ አናሬኝ። የኔኔ፡
ወይኔ፡ አልጠበቅሁም፡ ለቡናይ፡ የወደደችሆይ፡
ንገረኝ። ወይት፡ ትሰመሬለህ። ወይት
ትተኛለህ፡ በቀትር፡ ጊዜ፡ አትበዘበዝ፡
አንደልገኝ። ክባልንጀርኽህ፡ መንሳቸ።
ሬሰሺኔ፡ ኅለወቅሺ። ክሴቶች፡ የምታመረ።
የመንሳችኔ፡ ሰሞና፡ ተትለሽ፡ ወጭ፡
የኖየሉትሽ፡ ኖቦት፡ ጠክቲ። በረኛች፡
ቦታ፡ የሉኔ። ፋረሴኔ፡ የፋርያኔ።ሰረገለያኔ፡
የፋርያኔ፡ ሰረገላ።

3d Salashan

የሰሎማኔ፡ ባዝሊኪ፡ ባዝ፡ ሸሬው፡ ባዝ፡ ኂመቤዝ፡
ይጣሆሙ። ሸሬ፡ ክንጉሥ፡ ወይኔ፡ ወሸው፡ ኪኂሬስ፡
ኂሬ፡ ናሊኪ፡ ኂረ፡ ሸሬ፡ ኪሺውሊዝ፡ ኂሬ፡ ተደባ
ለቃ፡ አንዚ፡ ይዊኔ፡ ይብልና፡ አንገኂሳ፡ ወትርኂው፡
ኪኂረዝ፡ ኂሬ፡ ጋንና፡ አሸኔ፡ ኂንገሊ፡ ፋገው።
ወይኔ፡ ሊውሸው፡ ክንገሥስ፡ ይብሌኔው።ኪይብለኔ፡
ሌታ። አኔ፡ ሸመንቱ፡ ዋንኩ። አየረሳሌም፡ ሻብንሊ፡
አኔ፡ ኪዘኩ። ዘላኔ፡ ጉጀ፡ ኪና፡ ሰለ ዎኂ ወ፡
ድንኳኔ፡ ኳና። ስመንቱ፡ አንኩ፡ ሐሌታ። ኳሬ
ሐሌብይ፡ይገና፡ ሐር፡ ይገረ፡ ኳሬንሲረው። ወይኔ፡

ሰብረስ፡ ሚልታ። ሸቤና። ይኳመስ፡ ወይኔ፡
ሰብረስ፡ ሚለትገር፡ ይት፡ ይብለይቲ፡ ድዊ።
አገተ፡ ሰብብሰያ፡ አገተ፡ ጋንጀገኔ፡ ሐስሐስ፡
ጊዘዝ፡ አገጊና፡ ወንት፡ ተረንጊ፡ ኪመጊዋ፡ ሊንያ፡
።ክያጋስ። አህኳር። ይዊኔ፡ ሊክ፡ አንት፡ ሸሬር።
አንተሬ። ናልኩስ፡ ሰብብስወሊ። ሬንቲሬ፡
ኳቦተስ፡ ሚልቲ። ልተንሊ፡ ናሲሪዋ፡ ደፋረዘዝ፡
ሬርያኔ፡ ስረጋለኔ። ተኪው።

4th Tcheretch Agow

ማዜና፡ሀቦ፡ ማዜና፡ የሰሎዋን፡ እኝ። ወጀ ፡
አውሳን፡ ብወይን፡ ጌቦ፡ ኤቁሽ፡ አውጥፍ።
ሀሮሽ፡ ሀሩ፡ ዝሀር፡ ኛቅ፡ እውጥሩ።ይሹን፡
ሐብሩ፡ ኝሹኝ፡ ሀረዝኖ፡ አቀንሰዝ።ንማ
ጥን፡ ማቁ፡ አቅሩ።ኝገራ፡ ቲኝሩ።ነሀሩ፡
ሀሩ፡ ፍርሩዝን። ንጉሠ፡ ፀውለ፡ ድቁ።
ብጅቅ፡ እውጥወዛን፡ እቁጠን፡ ብወደን፡
ሀቦዙ፡ አቀሩዝን። ዝተ። ቀሩዝን፡ ፍቂቁ ፡
ገብ፡ አኝ። ከየራሰሌውሪ፡ ውቁ፡ ሀየዛ፡
ንኖረን። ወቃ፡ ጉጀኖ፡ ሰሎዋን፡ ድዝንኖ።

ገርው፡ ጽቡን፡ ንጭርዝን፡ አልተ፡ ዛረ፡ አልየ፡ ይጅሽ፡ ሁር፡
ይጣጥኝ፡ ቀርሹ። ወደን፡ ውቃ፡ ይረ፡ ዕቂረ። ይው፡
ወይን፡ ለጫትቀር። እዘኝ፡ እቅንደዲን፡ ድቁ። አውሌ ፡
ፋትሬን፡ እውራ፡ ገዝሬን፡ ሰት፡ ረዝ። እሸኘላ፡
ሐውዝሸዛ፡ ዝባውዋ፡ ወንገ። ዝውር፡ አርቅየር።
እቁን፡ ረርውሬ። የወንጎችሺን፡ ሰወን፡ ቲዝን፡ ድፋ።
ፋጭር፡ ጥቦፐ፡ ሊጫጭ፡ ውቃ፡ ቡፓ፡ ጎዛ። ይፋርዛ፡
የፈረያን፡ ፋረዛ። አመዲረቅ፡ የሌሬዒን፡ አዋደረቀ።

የህ፡ የጠሬጫ አገወ፡ለሳን፡ ነው

5th Agow of Damot

እን፡ ዋሰጋን፡ ደሰረ፡ ኛጎሳወ፡ ሠሰጋኔ፡ የሰ
ሉዋን፡ ኜ ። ዝሠቢ፡ ዙሰሮው፡ ዝሰኝ፡ ዛወ
የን፡ ዝሰ፡ እንጉ፡ ይሳን፡ ዙኜረኔ፡ ኜረ ፡
ዝኜረው፡ ውላ፡ ዝሸዛኩ።ይውስኝሰ፡ አለቀጽ
ቅቂ። ዛሰሠሰ፡ ኝሬያ፡ እንኛንሰ፡ እንስያ፡
አንጊግ፡ እጊናኩ ፡ እንገረዋ፡ ታንዝራናን።
ኔረደ፡ ኝረ ፡ ግናን። ንገሠኔ፡ ቻ ፉሊደ፡ ዒጽ ጫ።
ኀደ፡ደሰቀ። እንፉዋ፡ዛ ወደን፡ ደአንግ ና ።
ዙቀ፡ እንዛንኛ፡ ገገረ ፡ ደቢ፡ ኛ። ዝየጂሳለሠ፡
አንግግ፡ ኀሰ ፡ ሣርኀታ። ዚለኔታ፡ ፉድ፡ ሰሉ

ዋንፓ፡ድንዒንፓ፡ አመረዝ፡ሰኛጂ፡ሣርዛፓ፡ግንፒያን፡
ንዓ፡ግንፒ ይ። ይቾ፡ይረ፡ይባና ፡ ጀፋኖን። ወደን፡
ዒንደንዙ፡ንዝዒ፡እንዙሬና። የወሰ፡ ወደን፡ ዒንተየ።
ይሸቀ፡ እንግንተውሳ፡ ደዙ ። ውሸቀ፡ዛንገረቲ።ወሸቀ፡
ሀረ፡ገርገ፡ ሸሸ፡ እገበተረ፡ እገስቃ፡ቲታ፡ይሰብዒ፡ዒት
ሲ። ኖሬይ፡ ተብሳ፡ዙብናን፡አመርተ።ዋረትሲ፡ሳጉኖ፡
ተኀንተተ፡ሌ። ፋላይቲ፡ሳወንዙ፡ወንቲ።አበለዋ፡
ሰፋረ፡ዝሁንዝሳ፡ሬረሲይ፡ሌርዓን፡ሌረሳሳ፡ ሰረገሊየ፡
የፈረዓን፡ ሰረገለ ያ።።።

የህ የአገው ለሳን፡ነው

6th Gafat

የህ.የሰሌዋን፡አጀቀት፡አጂ።በሰዋት ፡ አጄ፡ኸ
ፀፀው፡ አፀፀውጀ።፡ ዋይት፡ አትላቁ፡ ጭቦ ፡ ጀ ፡
እዝንጀ ፡ ጉነ። አንፈጀ ስ፡ አንፈ፡ አለው፡ይገጅ ፡
ስውየትጀ፡ ደበለ፡ ሰመወትህ፡ እንደ ፡ ገነ ፡
አጽ መኀ። የውታሶ ፡ ዘያትጅ ፡ ወደሂ።፡መልፈና
ሕን፡ ቀጠለመ። በንፈጀ፡ አንፈወ፡ እንታሁር ።
ነገሠ፡ አትገባኝ፡ በጨጕልሽ። በይት፡ ደሰ
ይብለ። ጭቡጀ ፡ ዋይነ፡ ይገጀ ፡ እንወደ። ይት ፡
ውድድ ፡ ጕነ፡ ጸወተ፡ ይቀኔ፡ኀበሂሳለመ፡ መዛየሼ፡
ዴተላ ቁ፡ አገላጀሁ። እንደ፡ አቦላዎ፡ ድግ

መጂ፡ እንደ፡ሰሉዋን፡መድንዒኔ።=ጕነ፡ጋጀሁማ ፡
ደጀ። አገጸናሁዎ፡ አትይኝ። ጨበሊት፡ አላጀችመ።
አመየት፡ ቡሻች፡ ያሄት፡ ይብሉ፡ ይትጸለመ። ዋይንሽ፡
አቀቡ፡ብለ፡ አትወን። ያነትን፡ ወይነ፡ አላቀብቡመ።
ለቡጀ ፡ ይቀለሸን፡ ይወደ ። ይኤነ፡ ተዘነገር፡ ይፈንትተ
ገደለ፡ ቀንሸኑቦ። ይትታወኀ፡ ማለሆኔ፡ ማለቸጂ ፡
መንገ። ደማቀሽ፡ ያትሸሊ ፡ አነታች፡ ጕነ፡ ተሸ ሊ።
የጕናችን፡ መሰኑኔ፡ ቀጥይ። ንደይ።፡ የፋየሉችን ፡
ጭቦት፡ እቅቤ፡ ባቦ ፡ ላመሸ፡ በቲ፡ እቅቢ። ፌርድሺን ፡
የፈርዓን፡ ፋርደሸ፡ ባለቬን፡ የፈርዐን፡ ባልሸ።።.

ይህ፡የጋሬት ለሳን፡ነው.

7th Galla (ጋላ) Ch. 1 v 1-9.

ኀና. ገለቲ፡ እረጅረ፡ገለቱየሰለዋን፡ይሰ፡አፋኔ ፡ይሳቷ፡
አነድ፡ እንጵታ፡ ወይን፡ አረጀረ። ሐር ሚኬ፡
ገመቱ ። ውርጋንኬ፡ ውርገ፡ ውርገ፡ ዴደ፡ እረጀረ።
መቃዋቲ፡ ደበለ ፡ መቃኬ ፡አ።ውርጋወ፡ አነጀላ
ችሳ። ኀናፌ፡ ዴበረ ፡ ሲጃለቲኔ። ዴበኬ ፡
ሲዴኀአዴመ። ውርጋ፡ ዜቲ፡ ወርጋ፡ አዴዋን ፡
።።ዋቲ ፡ ዲንቃ፡ እናሲንሲሴ። ሲቲ ፡ ገመድና
፡ሐርሚኬ ፡ ኀወይን፡ እረጀረ ፡ ጀለናሲሐ።
ጀለላ፡ ቀጀላ፡ ደቢ ፡ ይሰ። ኀየረሳለዋ፡ ዴበረ፡
ይሬ፡ ዳ ታያጅሬ ። አኀ፡ ቲኀሲቱ፡ ቲ ሶ፡
ኀሰለዋን፡ ደንዒን፡ ሚደሪ ፡ ቱሬ ።
ዳታያጅሬ፡ አነኔላላ። አዴ፡ አነኔ፡ ላሌ።፡ ነደኀ ፡
ኜጀለ ፡ አንአሉፉጀ ደኔ፡ ወሉለኔ ፡ ወይን፡ ይገይ፡
አነጅርአቺ ሰኔ፡ ወያን፡ ኀ፡ ሊኔገኔ።።

ይህ የጋላ ለሳን ነው.

ቀለቢኀ፡ኀንጀ ለቲ ፡ አነቲሊሚ፡ኤሰ፡ አደመሬቲ።። ኤሰ፡
ቲጭፉታ፡ ሰሊወቲ፡ ዒና፡ ቀሬሉአ፡ ኀኢኔተ ዒ ፡
ኜሪያንኤ፡ ኜደ ፡ መታንኀ ፡ ቢኹባቲ፡ ነድኢቀን ፡
ኀመበሬዴ።። ነደነበኀ ፡ ኮቴ ፡ ዴኀዴንቱ ፡ በጂ ፡ ርዒተኀ፡
ጭቦተ፡ ኤረ ። ኢገዴቀነ፡ ኢርረ፡ ኀንጅሬን።። ፌርደሞ፡
የፈርዓን፡ ፌርደ፡ ሰኢገላየን፡ የፈርዓን፡ የፈርዓነ፡ ሰሬገላ፡

Ch. 8 v 5-8.

አኀ፡ ቦሌደ፡ ኀንዴየቱ፡ ኤጭኔ፡ አዲ ፡ ኀን፡ ታቱ፡
ኀን፡ ይፈቱ፡ ታቱ።። ይልመ፡ ወበል ሳኀ፡ ኀነቲ፡ እርሞቱ።።
ሁደ፡ አደቲ፡ ኀነንሲፈድኤ ።። ይሰቲ ፡ ሀደኀ ፡
አኩፈሰቴ።። ይሰቲ፡ ሀደኀ ፡ ኀንሲዲሰ፡ አኩፈሰቱ፡
፡አኀ፡ሀማርቲደ፡ ቀለቢኀቲ፡ አነግኤ።፡አኀ፡ አደኀሊደ፡
ይመይመኀቲ ፡ አነዲኤቺሲ።።። ጀለሊ ፡ አኀ፡
ዴአጀባድአ።። ኢናፋኔ ፡ አኀ፡ አቀለ ፡ እደለንተድአ፡
ባለንሽ፡ ኀንጎባቀበኔ ፡ ባላ፡ ይቢ ደ። ቢሳን፡ ገደ ፡
ጀለለ፡ በሊሱ ፡ ኜንደንደየኔ።። ቢሳንዋኔ ፡ ኜሶትሰኔ።።
ጀለላ፡ ፋጅኣ ደኔ፡ ረረኛ ፡ ሰዴዳ፡ ነመኔ ፡ ዩኬኔ ፡
ሀሜ ፡ ሲቴ ፡ ኜ ጀደኔ ።፡

Cassia.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.º

Tabernæmontana.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

Krihaha N°1.

Heath sc

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.°

Krihaha N°2.

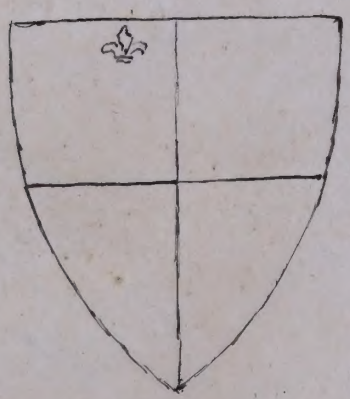
Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

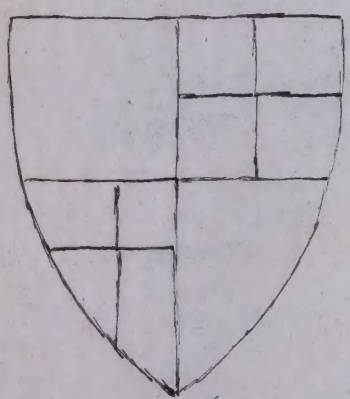
Edward 2d

Isabella of France

Edward 3d



Edward 3d



Philippa of Rainault

Edward 2d

Isabella of France

Edward 3d

Edward 3d

Philippa of Hainault

Anguah. N.º 1.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.º

Anguah N°2.

Heath sc.

London. Published Oct.1st 1804. by Longman & Co.

Geshe.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.1st 1804, by Longman & Co.

Merjombey.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

Nuk
or
Polymnia Frondosa.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & Co.

Umfar or Lentana.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

Kummel.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804. by Longman & C.o

Houbarra.

Madoqua.

Heath sc.

London, Published Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Longman & C.o

Kefla Abay. High Priest of the Nile.

Heath sc.

London. Published Oct.r 1st 1804. by Longman & Co

10 - 1-17 / 11-17

20 - 11 17 3 / 38 / 37

27 - 1-17 / 28-17

4" 28-17 / 3 / 11

No - Clergyman

203 - Letter of credit

186 Suprema –

281 Revisão –